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The Forum

EDITED BY J. M. RICE

OCTOBER—DECEMBER, 1903

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The Forum

OCTOBER, 1903.

AMERICAN POLITICS.

INTEREST in the approaching State elections centres around three contests. In Ohio a legislature is to be chosen which will either return Mr. Hanna to the United States Senate or name his Democratic successor; in Maryland, where a series of Republican victories was interrupted not long since by Democratic success, Senator Gorman will have an opportunity of demonstrating his continued control; and the result of the municipal election in Greater New York will be accepted, rightly or wrongly, as a straw indicating the vote of that city in the Presidential campaign next year.

There is always a marked laxity of interest in things political during an off-year; and the present season is no exception to the rule. In fact, the indifference this year is more apparent than usual. The reason therefor is not difficult to discover. There is not the slightest likelihood that the elections this year will change the present political alignement of the States. There are no indications anywhere of any unrest or dissatisfaction on the part of the great mass of voters. No revolutions are impending. The nation has pursued the even tenor of its way; prosperity, real or fictitious, continues to silence the wail of the pessimist; labor troubles have been spasmodic, isolated, and unimportant; the President holds the reins of government firmly in his grasp; the Republican party is apparently undisturbed by the problems which confront it; and the Democrats, notwithstanding their continued division, are as optimistic as usual. Under the circumstances, therefore, it is not surprising that the elections are going almost by default. Perhaps during

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the month of October there will be an awakening. Certain it is that up to the present time there is no indication of public concern over the outcome. The small amount of space which the daily newspapers are devoting to campaign news is an indication that the element of doubt is practically eliminated from the political equation.

Ohio will, as usual, occupy the centre of the stage, not because there will be a real contest in that State, but because nowhere else will any campaign repay more than momentary observation. There is not, at the present writing, any indication of a change in the political complexion of Ohio. For many years the State has been settling itself more and more firmly into the Republican column. The gallant campaign which John R. McLean made in 1899, a campaign in which the Democrats were well equipped with money and ability, failed to dislodge the dominant party; and since then the Democratic effort to win has been largely perfunctory. Last year, when Tom L. Johnson assisted the Democratic State ticket, the campaign was enlivened by a circus-like performance; but this was more picturesque than effective. The people viewed the passing show with amused interest, and then voted the Republican ticket. Unless all signs fail they will do the same this year.

The Democrats have, in fact, invited defeat by allowing the Bryan element to control their convention. This element has had its innings in Ohio, and has never won. As a presidential candidate, Mr. Bryan could not carry Ohio; and every gubernatorial nominee who has had his support has gone down to defeat. At every election since 1896, the people of Ohio have repudiated the Democrats and the Democratic platforms, notwithstanding which the recent Democratic State convention, controlled by the men who have never won a victory, solemnly declared its adherence to the principles of the Kansas City platform, and condemned all efforts to renounce or ignore them. No wonder that the Democrats supplemented this declaration with a special resolution inviting Mr. Bryan to deliver campaign speeches in Ohio. It will not be the first time he has been heard in the State; but there is no reason to believe that his appearance at this time will be followed by results differing from those which attended his former efforts. It must be remembered, too, that Mr. Hanna is personally interested in this campaign. He does not indulge in optimistic dreams. He works like a beaver, and not only knows the value of organization, but is an efficient organizer. With a Republican State behind him, he has nine-tenths of the chances of success.

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In the other important Western States, the outcome can be predicted with absolute accuracy. Mr. Cummins, the present Republican governor of Iowa, will be reëlected, and Kansas will go Republican. In Nebraska, the Democrats have again agreed upon fusion with the Populists, and of the three candidates upon the State ticket, two belong to the latter party. In this fusion the hand of Mr. Bryan is clearly shown. He attended the convention and exercised a noticeable influence in the formation of the platform, which, of course, reaffirmed the Kansas City declaration. Mr. Bryan evidently hopes by coddling the Populists to defeat the Republican ticket; but, judging from the elections of the recent past, the hope is not well founded. Nebraska Republicans are now apparently more numerous than Democrats and Populists combined. Nothing, therefore, would seem to have been gained by the Nebraska Democrats in still allying themselves with the Populists, and certainly the effect upon the Democratic party throughout the country has been unfortunate.

There was a feeling of satisfaction among conservative Democrats when a conference of Populists at Denver decided recently to abandon the Democratic alliance. It seemed as if the Democrats were to be delivered from the body of death to which they had been tied since 1896. The Democratic party, which has always been the party of conservatism and good government, has struggled along with the millstone of all the wild, irrational, and impracticable populistic vagaries around its neck. Experience has shown that the Democratic alliance with Populism was a costly experiment. It is not surprising, therefore, that the majority of the Eastern Democratic newspapers uttered the most emphatic protests against the truckling to the Populists of the Democrats of Nebraska, and gave expression to sincere joy when it seemed as if the Populists would divorce themselves from the Democratic organization.

As might have been expected, however, Mr. Bryan viewed with deep sorrow this Populistic defection. He does not want the Populists to depart. He proposes, through "The Commoner," to appeal to the rank and file of the old Populist party not to follow the programme outlined by the leaders at Denver. He is fearful that the "reorganizers" will secure control of the Democratic party. He would not have the friends of the Kansas City platform discouraged, as the reforms advocated by that document "are too important to be jeopardized by divisions among reformers, and the Democratic party can well afford to allow the Populists to bear the blame if those divisions arise."

As a matter of fact, even if it were wise, which it is not, for the

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Democratic party to espouse all the wild notions of the Populists, it should be remembered that the Populists have dwindled away into nothingness, and that they are not in a position either to expect or receive consideration. Once represented in the United States Congress by a number of men who drifted in upon the crest of a new political wave, the Populist party is now without recognition in official place, while its former leaders have gone back into obscurity. Why the Democratic party, now emerging from the bonds which have almost strangled it, should be compelled to continue an alliance which has had much to do with the imposition of those bonds is past understanding.

For the first time in many years — probably for the first time in its history — the election in Maryland next month will have a really national significance. Brought back into the Democratic fold by Senator Gorman, its continuance in that position means much for Mr. Gorman's personal prospects. More than a year ago, the writer pointed out in THE FORUM that Senator Gorman's victory in Maryland placed him in line for the Democratic nomination for the Presidency; and there is no question that to-day his name is the one most seriously considered in that connection. More than one newspaper now expresses the opinion that if the Democratic national convention should be held at the present time, Mr. Gorman would receive the largest number of votes. He is in the prime of life; he possesses exceptional ability and long experience; he has the prestige of success; he is affable and tactful. Unless he deliberately declines the honor, he will be presented by his State as its candidate for President at the next national convention. It is essential, therefore, that Maryland should this year be retained in the Democratic column, and the most earnest efforts are naturally being put forward to secure that end. The Democrats are being aided by a very serious division in the ranks of the Maryland Republicans, so that the prospects are for a continuance of the present Democratic régime in the State.

Always averse to being interviewed, or, rather, to being quoted with wearying frequency, Senator Gorman has had little to say since his return from Europe. With his customary clearness, however, he has pointed out the three issues upon which he would have the Democratic party go before the people — first, tariff reform; secondly, economy in public affairs; and, thirdly, honesty in office. The two last named were the issues which Tilden emphasized in 1876, and which always appeal to the popular mind — a mind prone to entertain an exaggerated idea of official extravagance and misconduct. As for tariff reform, it is best to

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quote Senator Gorman's own words. It is well known that Mr. Gorman does not belong to, and has no sympathy with, the radical free-trade element in his party. It is well that he has not. No free-trader can be elected President of the United States. The principle of protection has been shown to be essential to American prosperity, although the abuse of that principle will not be tolerated. Mr. Gorman stands upon the platform which will appeal to the independent voter, to the man working upon a salary, to everybody except the few who amass fortunes by compelling tribute from the many. In the stormy days of the Wilson Tariff Bill — a measure that would have wrecked the country had it not been for Mr. Gorman's courageous position, and which, as it was, worked incalculable injury — Mr. Gorman stood as a bulwark of conservatism between the radical free-trader and the extreme protectionist. This is the position which he occupies to-day — a position which must commend itself to every one who has the interest of the people at heart. He expresses himself, in an authorized interview in the "Baltimore Sun," as follows:

> The policy of collecting from the earnings of the people something like $75,000,000 more than can be spent even with the most reckless extravagance is an iniquity and a wrong which the Democratic party should endeavor to right. Such a policy breeds not only extravagance, but corruption. The revision of the tariff should, therefore, be a great issue in the Presidential election. In order to win, the Democratic party must have the confidence of the business interests of the country. The lack of that confidence caused the defeats of 1896 and 1900. To secure that confidence now, there must be an explicit pledge that in the revision of the tariff it is not the purpose of the party to wreck industries, many of which were established under the existing law. The pledge should be similar to the one upon which the Democratic party elected its ticket in 1884. The platform of 1884 contained this clause:
>
> "The Democratic party pledges itself to purify the administration from corruption, to restore economy, to revive respect for law, and to reduce taxation to the lowest limit consistent with due regard to the preservation of the faith of the nation to its creditors and pensioners. Knowing full well, however, that legislation affecting the operations of the people should be cautious and conservative in method . . . the Democratic party is pledged to revise the tariff in a spirit of fairness to all interests. But in making reduction in taxes it is not proposed to injure any domestic industries, but rather to promote their healthy growth."

Senator Gorman has done wisely in bringing to public attention such an admirable declaration as was contained in the Democratic platform of 1884. If the Democratic party is again to be victorious, it must be upon such a platform, and with a candidate who will see that the pledge of the party is executed in the proper spirit.

The conventions which nominated the tickets for the fall campaign

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were interesting because they again demonstrated the prominent participation of large cities in the politics of each State. This was particularly true of Ohio; while in Maryland, where a factional quarrel in the Republican party led to a bitter contest, the struggle for the control of the delegation from the city of Baltimore was of the most intense character. It is easy to appreciate the fact that large, well-organized masses of society, compact and actuated by a common interest, dominate a scattered and remote population. This situation confronts the politician in the development and management of a State machine. Occasionally, the building-up of an organization in the rural districts will be effective. A striking illustration of this fact occurred when, during the four years which intervened between the first and second terms of President Cleveland's administration, his managers secured the indorsement and cooperation of the country press. They ignored the city influences almost entirely. New York City, it will be remembered, was bitterly hostile to his renomination; Mr. Bourke Cockran's remarkable speech just prior to the ballot being the expression of this opposition. This instance, however, is the exception which proves the rule. The fact is that more and more the cities are dominating State politics, so far as nominations are concerned; and to a less extent, but still to an appreciable degree, they are deciding the political complexion of the States in which they are situated. In Maryland, to cite one State, the total vote at the last election was 263,065, of which Baltimore city and county cast 129,357, or practically one-half; and yet Maryland is a State which embraces an area of 12,000 square miles and includes twenty-three counties. Illinois is another State of large area and dense population; and yet the vote of Chicago last year was 276,000, or 34 per cent of the entire vote of the State. The importance of the vote of Greater New York when compared with the vote of New York State above the Harlem is too well known to require more than a mere reference.

It is interesting to review this relation of city power to the strength of the rural districts. In Ohio, especially, it has been repeatedly demonstrated. Any one who has attended numerous Ohio State conventions, whether Republican or Democratic, will instantly recall the anxiety manifested by the county delegates to know under which candidate's banner the Cincinnati delegation would array itself. This delegation, comprising ninety votes, is voted solidly in Republican conventions; and it is only in rare instances that its support has failed to bring victory to the candidate which it indorsed. The average number of delegates in an Ohio Republican State convention is 1,000, and of this

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number five cities — Cincinnati, Cleveland, Columbus, Toledo and Dayton — furnish 270, or 27 per cent. In an Ohio Democratic State convention these same five cities are represented by 29 per cent of the total number of delegates. This is by no means a majority; and yet, to quote one of the best-informed political authorities in Ohio, "these cities always dominate the result in both party conventions when all, or even three, of them combine, if one of the three is either Cincinnati or Cleveland."

Illinois is another striking example of this growing power of large cities in determining political action. At the last Republican convention in that State there were 1,519 delegates, of which number 515, or one-third, were from Cook County, the city of Chicago. It is the unanimous opinion of Illinois politicians with whom I have been in correspondence upon this matter, that, when Cook County is united, no man can be nominated for any office in the State who does not have the indorsement of that delegation. This fact has been repeatedly demonstrated in State conventions. In 1896, for instance, Mr. Hopkins, now the successor of Mr. Mason in the United States Senate, was a candidate for governor, and began his campaign with excellent prospects of securing the nomination. Mr. John R. Tanner was a candidate for State treasurer. Mr. Henry L. Hertz, one of the leading politicians of Cook County, desired the same office. He had no strength, however, throughout the State, and feared Mr. Tanner's rivalry. Mr. Hertz assembled his political leaders, and induced them to make Mr. Tanner their candidate for governor and to indorse him for State treasurer. Up to that time nobody had dreamed of Mr. Tanner as a gubernatorial possibility; and yet, when the convention assembled, every delegate seemed anxious to follow in the lead of Chicago, the result being Mr. Tanner's nomination on the first ballot. There is no doubt that the real sentiment of the convention was favorable to Mr. Hopkins; and I know, as an actual fact, that, after the nomination had been made, hundreds of delegates personally assured Mr. Hopkins that if it had not been for the overpowering influence of the Cook County delegation, they would have voted for him. Nor are these conditions confined to the Republican side. John P. Altgeld was not in any sense a Democratic candidate for governor until one morning the Democratic State leaders were surprised to learn that Cook County, or Chicago, proposed to demand his nomination. He went to the convention indorsed by the Cook County delegation, and was easily placed at the head of the ticket.

It is the concurrent testimony of Pennsylvania politicians that

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when the Philadelphia delegation votes solidly, it determines the action of a State convention; even though the city only sends 86 delegates out of a total of 364. A notable example of the power of this one city in controlling the political affairs of the State occurred last year, when Mr. Pennypacker's nomination as governor was secured through the solidarity of the Philadelphia delegation. On the first and only ballot for governor, Mr. Pennypacker received 206 and Mr. Elkin 152 votes. The Philadelphia delegation was voted solidly for Mr. Pennypacker. It was absolutely controlled by one man, who thus held in his hand the fate of the rival candidates; for had he cast thirty-one of the eighty-six votes for Mr. Elkin, the latter would have been named with 183 votes, a majority of the total poll of 364. It is worth while recalling, also, that in 1898 the vote of Philadelphia in the Republican State convention was equally divided between Mr. W. A. Stone and Mr. C. W. Stone, the candidates for the gubernatorial nomination. The former was nominated, but he could have been defeated if the entire vote of the Philadelphia delegation had been cast for his opponent.

In the New York State Republican conventions the delegates from the counties comprising Greater New York cast one-third of the entire vote, or, to be exact, 337 out of a total of 974. It is a curious fact, however, that this great nucleus does not seem to have exercised a dominating control similar to that of city delegations in other States. This is undoubtedly due to the fact that prior to the consolidation in 1896, the counties south of the Harlem very seldom acted together; and it was the rule for some years that even the old New York county delegation was not a unit. In 1896, when Governor Black was nominated, it so happened that New York and Kings counties were united; and the spokesmen for these counties, in casting the respective votes, called attention to the unusual circumstance. Even this condition of harmony, however, was only reached after several candidates had been placed beyond possibility of nomination, and Mr. Black had been accepted as a satisfactory compromise. In 1898, Mr. Roosevelt was nominated against the opposition of a large number of New York delegates. In a New York Democratic State convention, the proportion of delegates from Greater New York is 180 as against 270 from the remaining portion of the State. My own impression, based upon personal observation, is that the New York City delegation is a very potential factor in influencing the action of the Democratic conventions, although the assertion of a prominent New York Democratic leader, that the delegation has never distinctly dominated a convention, may be true.

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Without going further into detail, it is merely necessary to remark that St. Louis in Missouri, San Francisco in California, Milwaukee in Wisconsin, and, in fact, the largest cities in all the States are the pivots upon which the political affairs in those States revolve. It is a condition which will become more marked as time progresses; for the number of delegates is based upon voting strength, and the population of the cities is increasing in a ratio far exceeding that of the rural districts. The day will come, and ere long, when the people of the counties will simply be the automatons to register the will of the political bosses who rule the city wards, unless, indeed, the farmers and other rural voters combine in order to secure for themselves a voice in political control. This combination will be difficult to effect. Diversity of interest, loyalty to local candidates, impossibility of compact and disciplined organization — all these will be obstacles to prevent any concerted effort to overthrow the power of the great cities. The fact is that we are approaching, if we have not already reached, a condition which means that the cities will govern and control. This is unfortunate, because the average of honesty, intelligence, and independence is very high in the rural districts.

Before the next issue of THE FORUM appears, Congress will have assembled in extraordinary session, it being the present intention of the President to convene the national legislature on November 9. He proposes that Congress shall meet a month earlier than usual in order to consider the Cuban Reciprocity Treaty, which, ratified by the Senate last spring, must now receive the sanction of the House of Representatives; and he is anxious that his party shall enact some financial legislation. Both of these subjects, thrown into the arena of public discussion on the eve of a Presidential campaign, will array the Republicans and Democrats in opposition. Both are purely economic in their nature and primarily removed from the field of politics; but it does not require a prophetic eye to see that they will be treated from a partisan standpoint.

The Republican majority was dangerously divided on the question of Cuban Reciprocity in the last House, and it will be fortunate if it avoids fracture when the subject is again considered. It is impossible at this time to make an accurate prediction of the fate of the treaty. A long and bitter struggle is certain; and the Democrats will, of course, unite with the small band of Republicans from the beet-sugar States against the radical protectionists who will be arrayed in opposition to even indirect changes in the tariff. The likelihood is that the treaty will

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be ratified; for all the pressure of the Administration will be exerted in that direction, and the Republicans are, after all, well disciplined and loyal, sacrificing personal views and even ambitions to the welfare and solidity of their party. The discussion of the treaty is apt to open up the tariff question, although there will be no tariff legislation. It seems to be well settled that both parties will go into the Presidential campaign upon the tariff issue, a contingency foreseen in these pages several months ago. It is still difficult, however, to appreciate how a campaign upon the tariff can be regarded seriously, when it is remembered that the Senate will be Republican for some years to come, and will stand as an insurmountable barrier between a Democratic House and a Democratic President, should the election next year result in Republican defeat.

The object of the proposed financial legislation is to provide a currency elastic enough to enlarge the volume in circulation when money is in demand, as during the movement of the crops and the development of great enterprises, and to contract that volume when there is no necessity for an undue supply. Conferences between the members of the Senate Committee on Finance and the President, in which discussions leading Republican Representatives have participated, have not yet resulted in the formation of a financial bill. Senator Aldrich still advocates the principle of his measure of last session, which provides that State, municipal, and railroad bonds of approved classes may be accepted by the Secretary of the Treasury as security for the deposit of public moneys. This scheme does not meet with approval in the West; and now it is suggested that the banks be authorized to issue emergency circulation, subject to a five per cent tax, to an amount not exceeding twenty-five per cent of their bond-secured circulation. Various other propositions have been broached, such as the repeal of the limitation of $3,000,000 per month on the retirement of national bank circulation, and a proposal to allow national banks to issue circulation secured by high-class bonds other than government bonds. None of these propositions has been accepted as satisfactory, and the prediction is now freely made that all efforts to secure financial legislation during the approaching session will come to naught. Secretary Shaw shares in this negative view.

It is already evident that the Democrats are determined to oppose the Republican programme, and that they are especially hostile to the Aldrich Bill. Their first objection to the measure is that it encourages the continuation of a surplus in the Treasury Department when the

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tariff laws ought to be amended so as to prevent such a surplus; their second, that if the people were relieved of tariff burdens to the extent of $30,000,000 or $40,000,000 a year, that amount would not have to be placed in the hands of national banks for their benefit; their third, that in making such deposits the banks are being allowed the use of government money without interest. It will also be contended that the placing of government money in the banks will encourage over-speculation and the creation of "wild-cat" concerns, resulting in time in a tremendous and overwhelming collapse. The attitude of the Democrats is already foreshadowed in significant interviews. Speaking of the Fowler Bill, which proposes an asset currency, and of the Aldrich Bill, Senator Daniel, of Virginia, remarks that "these measures give the Democrats in Congress an opportunity to show the country that their party, and not the Republican, is the one that should be intrusted with government. No greater opportunity than this," he adds, "could come to us for 1904." Senator Daniel announces his determination to oppose to the bitter end all forms of financial legislation similar to those embraced in the Aldrich and Fowler bills. He says:

> If the object of the advocates of the Aldrich plan is to get the money out of the Treasury into trade and commerce, a much simpler and more constitutional method would be to leave the money with the taxpayers, and the high prices the people now have to pay for everything they buy would cease. The most ordinary mind can well understand that it is better to keep your own money in your own pocket than to pay it out in taxes to be used as loans by one set of financiers against another set. If the Republicans cannot do any better than this, the Democratic nominee for President will be elected in 1904.

Other Democrats who have been interviewed express the same purpose of opposition; and we find ex-Senator David B. Hill, of New York, who, as a prospective candidate for the Democratic Presidential nomination, may be suspected of keeping his ear close to the ground, occupying the same antagonistic position. In his recent speech at Olcott Beach, New York, Mr. Hill called attention to the fact that neither the repeal of the Sherman Silver-Purchase Law nor the enactment of the single gold-standard statute had resulted, as the Republicans had claimed they would result, in a financial millennium. Mr. Hill announces his opposition to loaning government money to national banks upon "approved" securities, and says that "the financial situation must indeed be desperate when such expedients as loaning the people's money to corporations is suggested, rather than relieving the people from taxation which has produced the accumulation of the surplus, and

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which accumulation has largely caused the present congestion in the money market."

At the same time, the Democrats must not expect to make headway by mere obstruction and negation. They have, unfortunately, been generally found on the wrong side of the financial question. Beginning with 1868, when they declared for virtual repudiation of the national debt by proposing to pay it in irredeemable currency, up to 1900, when the free coinage of silver at the ratio of 16 to 1 was reaffirmed, the Democratic position on national finances has not commanded the support of conservative voters. If there is a statesman in the Democratic ranks who can formulate a financial scheme which will be safer, sounder, and more conservative than that which the Republicans propose, he has an unexampled opportunity at the present time to achieve an enviable distinction and to become the leader of his party. Certainly the Democrats cannot hope to establish themselves in the public regard if they content themselves with criticism of, and opposition to, the Republican financial programme, without offering for themselves some solution of the problem which confronts the business world.

One factor bids fair to occupy an important position in the political situation should the financial question become uppermost in the approaching national campaign. While the existence of general prosperity cannot be gainsaid, the fact remains that for the average employee the purchasing power of his salary is at a minimum. Nearly all the necessaries of life are costing more than ever before. Money that should and could be saved is going into the till of the grocer, the butcher, and the merchant, not for the benefit of these dealers, but to be remitted to the great trusts which control the output of meats, sugar, oil, canned goods, tinware, and all the thousand and one things required by the housewife. The passage of the McKinley Tariff Bill on the eve of a campaign was followed by a rise in prices all over the country which proved fatal to the Republican party. History may repeat itself. The cost of sugar and oil and beef at the corner grocery has a more positive and certain effect in influencing the mind of the voter than the acquisition of the Philippines or the construction of an isthmian canal.

In view of the intimate relation of labor organizations with politics, the action of the President in connection with the case of Mr. W. A. Miller possesses no little interest. Mr. Miller is a bookbinder in the Government Printing Office, and was dismissed from his position because he had been expelled from the Bookbinders' Union. He appealed

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to the Civil Service Commission, which decided that his dismissal was not warranted by law or equity. This conclusion went to the President for review. Mr. Roosevelt did not hesitate. He declared immediately that Miller had been removed in violation of law, and he ordered the employee's reinstatement. He went further. He set forth, in characteristically emphatic fashion, his opinion as to the part to be played by labor unions. "There is no objection to the employees of the Government Printing Office," he wrote to Secretary Cortelyou, "constituting themselves into a union if they so desire; but no rules or resolutions of that union can be permitted to override the laws of the United States, which it is my sworn duty to enforce." In addition to this, the President, after quoting the judgment and award of the Anthracite Coal Commission, declaring against discrimination between union and non-union men, added this terse sentence: "It is, of course, mere elementary decency to require that all the government departments shall be handled in accordance with the principle thus clearly and fearlessly enunciated." The President took occasion to transmit copies of the correspondence to all the members of the cabinet, in order that they might be fully acquainted with his policy in dealing with union and non-union employees of the Government.

The President's firm stand aroused the representatives of labor organizations; and for some time a serious clash between the Government, on the one hand, and organized labor, on the other, was threatened. This was avoided by tactful action on the part of the union; and Mr. Miller is now working in his old position, a non-union man, surrounded by employees identified with organized labor. If the unions propose to condemn or antagonize the President, they have not yet openly indicated such intervention; and, in view of the eminent fairness of the President's position, it is difficult to see how they could hope to profit by such hostility. At the same time, the echo of the Miller case may be heard in the next campaign. Organized labor is jealous of its strength, and may endeavor to prove its power. The effort, if it is made, will undoubtedly be put forth in secret, which will make it all the more dangerous.

One of the most significant political events of recent occurrence was the primary held in Mississippi for the purpose of deciding upon the candidate who should head the Democratic gubernatorial ticket. There were in the first election three aspirants — Vardaman, who received 39,674 votes; Critz, who came second with 34,813; and Noel, whose

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total vote was 24,233. In the second primary, Vardaman led his opponent by 5,208; receiving 49,230, as against 44,022 for Critz. The importance of this result lies in the fact that Vardaman made his campaign upon the race question; taking the most extreme ground against the negroes, and indulging in language upon the stump which left no doubt of his radical views. Critz, on the other hand, was conservative, appealing to what he denominated the higher instincts of the voters. The recent tendency to show unusual consideration to the negro has, however, greatly aroused the Southern people, who, by this election, have served notice upon the rest of the country that they do not propose to admit the negro to terms of equality. They are willing that the negro shall be educated at public expense. The fact that the incoming legislature of Mississippi is overwhelmingly against any change in the Constitution that would deprive the negroes of their schools is an indication of this desire to treat the negro fairly in the matter of education; but the people of the State have, nevertheless, notified the North that they propose to handle the negro problem in their own way.

It is barely possible that this note of defiance will lead some overzealous and unwise politicians to attempt, during the approaching session, to settle the problem by legislation. The efforts which were inaugurated in Congress last year to make the race question a purely political cause proved, happily, abortive, and it is to be hoped that the Republican leaders will continue to look with disapproval upon suggested agitation. The only proposition which would at all commend itself to the American people would be the reduction of Congressional representation from the South in proportion to the number of negroes disfranchised; but even the attempt to enact this statute would provoke a condition of affairs much to be avoided. For the same reason, it is to be hoped that the Democrats will not force the race question to the front.

I am aware that some of the Democratic Representatives in Congress have already declared themselves in favor of such an issue. Representative Livingston, of Georgia, who is a member of the Committee on Appropriations, and is otherwise recognized as a man of standing and influence in his party, says that in the coming session of Congress the Democrats propose to bring the Republicans to the issue of declaring whether they support the President in his position on the negro question. Representative Swanson, of Virginia, is equally aggressive; while Representative James, of Kentucky, whose district borders on the Indiana Congressional district where the recent fierce race riots occurred, says that many white Republicans are already leaving that party be-

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cause they do not desire to affiliate themselves with the negro. It is true that there have been outbreaks in Indiana, Illinois, Ohio, Kansas, and other Northern and Western States which indicate hostility to the negro, and it would undoubtedly be an easy matter in other sections to fan race prejudice into a flame. At the same time, every patriotic and conservative American will look with disfavor upon any action tending to stimulate this prejudice and create a wider chasm between the whites and the blacks than now exists. The problem, which is one of the most serious now confronting this nation, will some day be settled justly and rightfully. This happy consummation may be distant; but it will certainly be indefinitely postponed if the politicians of both sides continue to use the negro as a helpless instrument for exciting partisan feeling in a political campaign.

HENRY LITCHFIELD WEST.

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FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

EUROPE has made history during the last three months. The world has seen for the first time on British soil a French President, who has been received with all the marks of the most friendly demonstration; who has been acclaimed as a friend, an ally almost; whose visit to the King of England has typified that the old animosity between England and France no longer exists, and that for the present, at least — one will not be so rash as to make any predictions regarding the future of such an uncertain element as the stability of European political relations — the two nations have agreed to forget their past differences and to live in peace and promote the best interests of civilization. Not less important has been the death of the highly venerated and greatly beloved sovereign pontiff of the Roman Catholic Church, a man no less esteemed for the purity of his character than for his wisdom and Christian charity. Born and bred in the old faith, the Vicar of Christ on earth, believing in the supreme mission of the church of which he was the supreme head, he was broad and tolerant enough to recognize what was good in the creeds of other churches and to exert all his mighty influence to advance the cause of peace and to bring about concord between the nations.

An historical event of the first magnitude was the visit of King Edward to Ireland. He went there not, as did other English sovereigns, to wage war or to plant the iron heel of the conqueror upon a conquered people, but as a king who visits a portion of his dominions and knows full well that he will be received with every expression of loyalty, and that his welcome will be as sincere as it is joyous. Nor was he disappointed. The Irish are a generous and enthusiastic race. They know that a better day is dawning for their unfortunate country. They looked upon the first visit made by King Edward since his accession as the beginning of a new era; and, with that generosity which has always characterized them, they were willing to let the bitter past be forgotten, and to think only of the happier future. King Edward will pass into history as "Edward the Peacemaker." Largely

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owing to his influence the war in South Africa was brought to an end. He has succeeded in establishing better relations with France. By his own personal charm and tact he has won over Ireland. No wonder, then, that the English people to-day have for him an affection hardly less strong than that which they had for the late Queen, and that they recognize that one of the greatest forces in the affairs of the world is the King of England.

It was in the early days of July that President Loubet, attended by M. Delcassé, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, visited England as a guest of the King in return for the visit paid by King Edward to Paris last spring. In the last issue of THE FORUM attention was called to the visit of the King as being one of the most significant and important international events which had taken place for years. Fully to appreciate the importance of this visit, the reader must correctly understand that the heads of states never visit each other unless assured in advance that such a visit will be agreeable, and, furthermore, that the visit of a king to a king or a president is not merely a perfunctory and meaningless social convention, but is always associated with political consequences. A king visits a fellow-monarch either to testify to the political alliance which exists between them, or else to try to bring about such an alliance. For many years past the relations between Great Britain and France have been of the most unsatisfactory character; in fact, more than once they have led the two countries so perilously close to the brink of war that Englishmen no less than Frenchmen waited with nervous apprehension to hear the fatal word pronounced that should mobilize armies and put fleets into commission. One has only to recall Fashoda, when a single incautious word on either side would have lighted the torch, and when, but for the action of France in renouncing her unwarranted claims, England would have drawn the sword. The attitude of the French people during the Boer War is too recent and too well remembered by even the casual student of foreign politics to need further reference here.

What has complicated the situation and made the relations between France and Great Britain more difficult has been the fact that France is the ally of England's mortal enemy — Russia. France had been forced by political exigencies into the arms of Russia as a counterpoise to the Triple Alliance; and Russia had been only too glad to avail herself of the isolation of France to contract an alliance, because it made both Germany and Italy more vulnerable, and, more important than all else

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to Russia, because it enabled her to float her loans in Paris when all the other financial centres of the world were closed to her. Accordingly, France found it impossible to be on good terms with England, and Russia exerted all the means at her disposal to foster the ill-feeling between her enemy and her ally.

But the mysteries of international politics defy calculation; and just as England and the United States were brought to a better understanding of each other in consequence of the heat and friction engendered by the Venezuelan affair and President Cleveland's historical message, so perhaps the *entente* which now exists between England and France may be in a large measure directly traceable to the Fashoda incident of five years ago. When the gallant, but somewhat injudicious, Major Marchand went to Fashoda and raised the French flag, and Sir Herbert Kitchener firmly, but politely, bundled the major and his little company out of the Soudan, France showed a disposition to resent that treatment even if it involved the risk of war. England was in an equally unamiable mood, and was quite prepared to resort to extremities if France invited attack. Having due respect for the British fleet, France was not prepared to try conclusions with her traditional foe single-handed, and in her distress turned to Russia for assistance. This taught her how feeble a thing was the Russian alliance. Russia turned her back on her ally, and found that the terms of the treaty did not bind her to come to the assistance of France provided she made war on England over Fashoda; and France, realizing that it would be suicide to engage in hostilities, accepted the inevitable as gracefully as circumstances would permit.

The world has often asked itself what France has gained by being the ally of Russia. It has been able to understand what Russia has gained; it has seen that Russia has been able to borrow hundreds of millions of dollars from France, and that it has been French money which has enabled Russia to complete her ambitious schemes in China, and has perhaps saved the Russian empire from bankruptcy. It has been obvious that Russia has lost nothing by an alliance that has cost her not a single penny, not even a single ship, not a single soldier. France, on the other hand, has paid pretty dearly for her somewhat useless whistle; and probably the question asked by disinterested but curious observers has finally been asked by French statesmen and the French people, who have come to the conclusion — because the French as a race are a thrifty people and not prone to foolish extravagance — that they were paying entirely too much for a luxury. And so, perhaps, we may

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imagine that after careful thought they have reached the conclusion that it would be more profitable and more to their advantage in the long run if they were the friends rather than the enemies of England, and if the two countries could settle all the numerous and vexatious disputes which have embittered their relations and kept them apart.

Bound up as she is with Russia, it cannot be supposed that France will, at a moment's notice, sever that relation and cast in her lot with England. On the contrary, it is more reasonable to suppose that, now that a fairly amicable understanding exists between herself and England, she will endeavor to bring about a better state of feeling between England and Russia, not solely from disinterested motives, but because she will profit by it enormously. If France, Russia, and Great Britain could reach a common understanding — it is not at all necessary that they should conclude a formal treaty of alliance — if England, for instance, should recognize French pretensions in certain quarters of the globe, and if England and Russia should reach an agreement in regard to Manchuria and other Far Eastern questions, the peace of the world would be preserved so long as that formal or informal alliance endured. The Triple Alliance would be rendered impotent. Germany, the one great power which excites anxiety, if not actual fear, would be powerless to embark on a policy of adventure, and neither Austria nor Italy would be rash enough to move as against the combined weight of Great Britain, France, and Russia. And, although Italy and Austria are the nominal allies of Germany as members of the Triple Alliance, it must not be forgotten that, so long as the present Emperor of Austria lives, all his influence will be on the side of maintaining peace with England, for which country he has great affection, while Italy is more and more coming to realize that it is a political no less than an economic necessity that she should maintain friendly relations with her neighbor, France.

Whether France can succeed in being the means of effecting a *rapprochement* between England and Russia remains to be seen, but she will find her task difficult enough if the influence of a large number of Englishmen both in and out of public life counts for anything. While welcoming the reëstablishment of friendly relations with France, they are bitterly opposed to extending the pact so as to embrace Russia. They recognize that the interests of their country and those of Russia are antagonistic, and that it would be absurd and useless to try to reconcile these interests by means of a treaty or promise, because Russia is the one great power calling itself civilized which has no regard either

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for its pledges or for any other solemn obligation into which it may enter. The history of the relations between Great Britain and Russia, for the last half-century at least, shows that Russia has never hesitated, when driven into a corner, to make a promise or give assurances, which she has broken without the least hesitation whenever it suited her purpose so to do. The United States has recently discovered to her sorrow that this vice is constitutional on the part of Russia.

The fact that M. Delcassé accompanied President Loubet on his visit to London led many people to believe that one of the results of that visit would be the announcement of a treaty of alliance, or at least a commercial convention, between the two governments. No official announcement to that effect has been made on either side of the Channel, and the best information obtainable leads one to believe that no agreement of a formal character was consummated. M. Delcassé had a private interview with Lord Lansdowne, the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs; and, while the import of that conversation has not been revealed, one may feel quite certain that something more than commonplaces or banalities passed between the two foreign ministers, and that the Parisian paper "L'Eclair" was at least semi-officially inspired when, after the return of the President, it declared that there was established, "an accord, the effects of which will make themselves felt, not only in Anglo-French relations, but also in the policy of all the great European powers." Even more significant is the statement of the "Temps," the semi-official organ of the Minister for Foreign Affairs, which says:

> There are no colonial questions which cannot be solved by the Anglo-French accord, and there is no power which could prevent solutions based on that accord. The disputes which during the last twenty years have arisen between the two countries have almost invariably been due to a lack of mutual explanations. It is not from having negotiated too much, but from having negotiated too little, that the governments of France and England ended in not understanding each other. The Egyptian question is only too obvious, and the Fashoda affair is another. For the future, the two peoples may rest assured that in the case of similar problems arising, the two governments will, with friendly and loyal explanations, seek in good faith the basis of an agreement.

It is significant that, while the Austrian papers no less than the French welcome the Anglo-French *rapprochement* as glad tidings for all the world, the Russian papers pretend that the interchanges of visits between the English King and the French President are nothing more than simple acts of courtesy, and are not to be considered as of great political consequence. The German papers show their displeasure in a still more marked manner. They either ignore the affair or else sneer

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at it and make use of the opportunity to attack both France and England. Naturally one can understand why Germany should view with ill-concealed displeasure anything that brings France and England closer together. Anything that tends to disturb the balance of power so delicately centred that the smallest thing thrown into one scale or the other may disturb the equilibrium is not welcomed by Germany. Germany, during the last few years, has won her great power and position because Continental Europe has never felt quite sure what she would do, or with what particular group of powers she would throw in her lot; but if now a combination should be effected which would make of far less consequence the part played by Germany, her position in the councils of Europe would be greatly lessened.

By the death of Pope Leo XIII there is closed one of the most remarkable epochs in the history of the Roman Catholic Church, and there is brought to an end a pontificate to which the reign of no other occupant of the chair of St. Peter can find parallel. Leo XIII came to the throne at a time when it seemed as if there was no longer to be any papacy. On the death of Pius IX it was suggested to the Italian Government that it should end the bitter struggle between church and state by prohibiting the holding of a conclave for the election of a new pope. The Government, however, remained inactive; and Pius IX, who had declared the infallibility of the Pope, who insisted on the temporal sovereignty of the wearer of the triple tiara, and who shut himself up a close prisoner in the Vatican — thereby more emphatically to mark the unbridgeable chasm that existed between the Vatican and the Quirinal — was succeeded by Leo XIII, elected, so it is said, because he was so old and so feeble that he could not long survive his election, and because his occupancy of the throne would give an opportunity for intrigue, so as to bring about the election of a pope more satisfactory to the college of cardinals. Fortunately for the church, no less than for the world at large, Leo XIII lived for many years. He lived so long that the world recognized in him one of its greatest men — a diplomatist of the first rank, a man who knew not only his world, but the great world outside the walls of his palace prison, and who, while he refused to recognize the new order of things, while he would not bow his head in submission to a mere earthly sovereign, and while he, like his predecessor, asserted his right to temporal sovereignty, was too wise, too far-seeing, and, one may believe, too truly a Christian, to push matters to an extremity, or force an issue which could only result in harm to the great

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interest confided to his care. As the London "Morning Post," in an article of remarkable literary brilliancy, so well says:

> Every pope is regarded with reverence and awe, but few popes have ever aroused the intense love of millions as did the late pontiff. . . . He was a good man, a wise man, a great man, a profound scholar in men and books; and as a prince he threw the whole of his far-spreading influence on the side of international peace.

The election of Cardinal Sarto, who sits on the throne of St. Peter as Pius X, came as a surprise to both the ecclesiastical and political worlds, as, while his high character, piety, and ability were acknowledged by all, his election was not deemed probable. It was related, on seemingly good authority, immediately after his elevation to the pontificate, that when he left Venice to attend the conclave and some of his clergy and friends attended him to the station and wished him success, he showed how unlikely he considered his chances of election by remarking that he had purchased a return railway ticket to Venice.

The proceedings of a conclave are supposed to be guarded with such jealous care that the outside world knows nothing of what happens when the college of cardinals sits behind sealed walls. As a matter of fact, very little is known, but here and there enough leaks out to indicate, perhaps, some of the motives that influence the cardinals in their choice. It has been said, and apparently on good authority, that Cardinal Rampolla was the choice of a majority of the cardinals, and would have been elected had not Austria brought pressure to bear to oppose his election, which the Austrian Government regarded as inimical to its best interests because of his political views; and that when that became known Cardinal Sarto was elected as a compromise. The Pope is no longer a temporal sovereign. He no longer exercises that great political power which Gregory VII did when he excommunicated Henry IV, Emperor of Germany, at that time the mightiest prince of Europe, and compelled him to stand barefooted in a coarse woollen garment for three days in the courtyard of the castle of Canossa until he should have done penance and it should please the sovereign Pontiff to lift the ban of excommunication. That great power over the affairs of the world the Pope no longer possesses; but to him millions of people look for spiritual guidance, and in the Catholic countries of Europe his attitude in regard to political questions is of the utmost importance to their governments.

Indicative of the character of the new head of the church is the determination with which he is credited not to maintain the policy of his two predecessors and immure himself in the palace of the Vatican, but to visit various parts of his Italian spiritual dominions. His adherence

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to this resolution will form the true test of his policy. There is in the Vatican a reactionary party, a party of the cardinals who are in favor of not healing the breach between the Vatican and the Quirinal, but rather of keeping alive that spirit of hostility. If the new Pope can bring about better relations between the papacy and the Italian Government, if also he will strive to adjust himself to the new conditions which have arisen in France since the attack was made on the religious orders, still greater will be his temporal power, and Pius X will pass into history as one of the wisest of the wise men that have made the pontificate the admiration of the world.

Very nearly at the end of a long and memorable reign, Queen Victoria, perhaps the wisest of all British sovereigns, and in some respects the greatest — not great because of profound mental attainments, or far-seeing wisdom, but great because of her enormous fund of common sense, her goodness, and her humanity — disregarding the advice of her ministers, and seeking to atone for a wrong which had been caused by the stupidity and lack of imagination of the men who had been entrusted with the government of their country, paid her memorable visit to Ireland. When the Queen first proposed this visit, the ministers of the Crown raised numerous objections. They opposed it because they regarded it as an experiment too hazardous for them to take the responsibility of giving it their approval. The Queen, in her characteristic manner, after listening to all the objections, decided to disregard the wishes of her constitutional advisers, overruled their veto, as she had the right to do, and determined to visit that part of her dominions which she had so long neglected. It is history the reception she was given in Ireland, and it is also history that that simple act of a woman bowed down with the weight of years and standing on the brink of the grave did more to win over the Irish than all the efforts of ministers and legislators.

The King visits his Irish dominions for the first time at the beginning, instead of at the end, of his reign. Before he crossed the narrow strip of water that separates Celt from Saxon there were forebodings among the croakers, who feared for his personal safety and could see no good to come out of the visit. There were a few, but it is gratifying to say only a very few, irreconcilables, principally among the Nationalists in Dublin, who would have been only too glad to make the visit a failure, and who, to show their unbending Nationalism, looked on in solemnness and stood mute in the presence of their sovereign. But that is a mood which does not suit the warm-blooded Celt, to whom a pro-

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cession and military bands and all the glitter and color of a show always appeal. In the past, Irishmen had been given little opportunity of seeing their sovereign; and perhaps the mere fact that the sovereign remained away from Ireland fostered the belief in the minds of the Irish people that the English sovereign and the English Government held Ireland in contempt and were always willing to treat it as an alien.

Even the Nationalist press — born in strife and discord, which had as the reason for its being the hatred of Ireland for England and, therefore, reluctantly surrendered the one justification for its existence — has been forced to recognize the impression created by the King's addresses and the effect which the visit will have. The comments of a majority of the Irish papers are not only cordial, but sympathetic, and show a sincere desire to bring about a better understanding and a lasting friendship between the two countries. The reason why Ireland has always been a thorn in the side of England is perhaps better understood by the Irish than by the English, and "The Irish Times" sums up the case in a few words when it says:

> Many of the troubles of this country have arisen from the fact that Ireland and England are too little acquainted. Occasionally English people do not take us seriously enough; sometimes they take us too seriously; and either way mistakes arise which may be provocative of serious ills.

In the same vein is the comment of "The Freeman's Journal," which says:

> Nowhere was there a note of dissent or disorder. . . . The people of all sections were free to receive the King as he would wish to be received — in kindliness and peace. The personal note in the proceedings was the predominant one. The King is liked, his consort admired, and it will be the desire of the Irish people that, as their reign lengthens, so may these feelings strengthen.

And so in the same voice "The Irish Daily Independent" says:

> The reception accorded to the King and Queen by the citizens of Dublin was exactly of the kind which every person of common sense foresaw it would be. Their majesties were welcomed with a heartiness which left nothing to be desired, and which must have made clear to them the feelings of friendly sympathy with which they are regarded by the great majority of our people.

There are some cynical persons who assert that the King and the English people are paying a pretty steep price for Irish "loyalty," that price being no less than £12,000,000 to begin with, and how much more to end with nobody, not even an Irishman himself, can tell. In other words, the visit of the King to Ireland was coincident with the final passage of Mr. Wyndham's Irish Land Bill in the House of Commons,

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a bill which, according to some of the English newspapers and English public men, is nothing but a huge bribe. The Irish, these newspapers and public men say, could afford to put their disloyalty in their pockets and produce their loyalty for the occasion because of the enormous prize at stake, knowing full well that if any insult was offered to the King or Queen, or if any injury befell them, Ireland's hope of obtaining a huge grant from the English treasury would be destroyed. But I am inclined to believe that this is taking a narrow and shortsighted view and does the Irish an injustice; it is, in fact, simply characteristic of British obstinacy and the difficulty of the average Englishmen in adjusting himself to conditions which run counter to his prejudices.

England is paying an enormous price in the attempt to secure peace and prosperity in Ireland; but that is the price which she is forced to pay because of her sins and crimes of the past. The sins of the fathers are now being visited upon the children unto the third and fourth generations, and, as usual, many of the children are suffering for things for which they are not responsible. Had England displayed a broader and more intelligent statesmanship, had she granted to Ireland concessions which Ireland had every right to ask, had she done for Ireland only a tithe of what she has done for alien races under her control in various quarters of the globe, she would not to-day be called upon to make Ireland a grant of £12,000,000 from the imperial treasury, and Ireland to-day would be a prosperous country, inhabited by a contented people ready to make any sacrifices to defend the kingdom. But it is consoling to think that Ireland now faces a new era, an era which will be as much for the benefit of England as for Ireland, and not only for the Irish of Ireland, but for the Irish of the United States.

While the English people have been watching events in Ireland with keen interest, affairs more strictly relating to themselves have aroused the widest discussion and caused the utmost confusion. To-day in England political parties are so badly split up that no one can tell whether the next general election will see the return to power of the present Conservative Government or whether that Government will go down to crushing defeat and a Liberal ministry be its successor; and no one knows when that election will take place — whether this year, or early next year, or late in the following autumn.

Mr. Chamberlain's attempt to undo the work of Sir Robert Peel and substitute for free trade a policy of protection which shall protect the home market from cheap foreign-made goods, and at the same time

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grant a preference to the British colonies, has caused a split in the Conservative party almost as great as that which was caused in the Democratic party when Mr. Bryan was made the Democratic nominee on a platform of free silver. Many of the Conservatives and more of the Unionists — former Liberals who deserted their party when Mr. Gladstone tried to pass his Home Rule bill, and who since then have voted with the Conservatives and in opposition to their former Liberal associates — are vehemently antagonizing Mr. Chamberlain because, in their opinion, the very salvation of England and her position as a great commercial and manufacturing nation rest upon cheap food and free raw materials.

England, unlike the United States, is fed from the outside; and, broadly speaking, if it were not for American wheat and meat, Australian beef and mutton, and Continental butter, eggs, and fruit, she would soon starve. If it were not for American cotton, Australian wool, and countless other raw materials that are imported into England in their crude form and fabricated into the finished article in the factories of Lancashire and Yorkshire, on the Thames as well as on the Clyde, in every nook and corner of the kingdom, which is really one huge workshop, England's great and profitable trade would disappear, and she could no longer manufacture for the entire world. They hold, therefore, that anything that puts a tax on food will increase the burden of the workingman without compensating him by an increase of wages, while the tax added to the raw material will increase the cost of production to the manufacturer and seriously handicap him in competing in the world's markets.

It is the same argument with which Americans are all familiar. It is the old question which has been fought out year after year in the United States, the irrepressible conflict between free trader and protectionist, which both wage because both believe that their side is right. Appreciating this, the American reader will understand the turmoil existing in Great Britain at the present time, and he will also be able to understand why the most astute political managers are at sea and unable to feel certain as to the outcome. Just as in 1896 there was a realignement of parties in the United States which made previous calculations worthless, so in England to-day the vote of a constituency at the last election will be no indication of what that vote may be when next the voters go to the polls.

To a very large extent the election will turn on the labor vote. So far as the writer can judge, after some weeks spent in England in an

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attempt to discover the trend of sentiment, the workingmen have not yet definitely decided as to their future course, and will be largely influenced by the arguments presented by the speakers on both sides. There are, of course, a certain number of men who are firmly of the opinion that the adoption of Mr. Chamberlain's policy will work them great injury, as it is bound to increase the cost of living without carrying with it a corresponding increase of wages. There is also a large number of men who heartily approve of the efforts to be made to prevent foreign competition and to preserve the home market. They point to the United States as proof of the wisdom of this policy, and they say that a similar policy adopted by England would result in as great a benefit to the British workmen as it has done in the case of the American. But the great bulk of labor is yet to be convinced. No one yet knows on which side the man of "open mind," which is the political phrase of the day in England, will land.

The next election will gain added interest from the fact that an attempt will be made to form in the House of Commons a distinct labor party. There are at the present time in the House laboring men who, until their election, worked at their respective trades, and who, while they sit in Parliament, are paid by their respective trade-unions, the English member of Parliament serving without salary from the Government. Owing to various causes too numerous to mention here, organized labor in Great Britain has determined to obtain a greater representation in Parliament, and it is the intention of the trade-unions to offer candidates in every constituency where there is a reasonable prospect of success. The result will be that workingmen who in past elections voted the Liberal or Conservative ticket will now support their own candidate, which will still further disarrange previous calculations. It is admitted by both Liberals and Conservatives that the labor party in the next Parliament will be much stronger than it is to-day, and it would surprise no one if labor captured from twenty to thirty seats.

In view of the unrest of labor in England and its determination to be represented in Parliament by men who understand its needs and aspirations, it is interesting to study the result of the last general election in Germany, an election which would have attracted only passing attention had it not been for the surprising gains made by the Socialists, as it was a campaign involving no great issues except the one issue whether the Socialists were to hold their own or to be engulfed by the forces of reactionary conservatism. The German Socialist does not

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regard it as an insult to be called a Socialist. The name is not considered by him a term of reproach, although it is used in that sense by his opponents.

But the aspirations of the German Socialist do not materially differ from those of the workingman in the United States or in England Perhaps there is no country in the world where the intelligent workingman is more discontented than he is in Germany, and perhaps there is no country in the world where he has more right to be dissatisfied with his lot. He is forever under the eye of the police, who hamper and annoy him in every way possible; the heavy burden of militarism rests upon him; he is at all times in danger of being sent to prison for *lèse-majesté*, for having the temerity to doubt the omnipotence of his Kaiser and he has none of that protection from the cupidity of employers, such as proper factory regulations, the prevention of child labor, and other things in accordance with the humane spirit of the age, that are to be found in both the United States and Great Britain. His only hope for the amelioration of his condition is to go into politics and create a party in the Reichstag that shall be purely his own party, that shall have no affiliations with any of the other parties, and that shall be solely committed to his interests. And in this lies the significance of the general election recently held in Germany. When the Reichstag was dissolved, the Socialists held fifty-eight seats. They now control eighty-one, backed by nearly 3,200,000 voters — over a quarter of the entire electorate of the empire. Their strength, however, is really greater than the figures would indicate. If there were a fair and proper reapportionment, the Socialists to-day would have 120 seats out of a total of 397.

Naturally nothing is more galling to the German Emperor than this success of the Socialists, because he has done everything in his power to crush out Socialism. Yet the Emperor himself is one of the strongest forces making for Socialism in Germany. As a recent writer in an English magazine remarks: "A prominent Socialist leader once said that every speech made by the Emperor costs the 'parties of order' one seat." In a former number of this magazine the writer pointed out that the growth of Socialism in Germany might have a tremendous influence on Germany's entire policy, foreign and domestic. In this connection the statement of Norton Gibside in "The National Review" for August acquires peculiar significance. He says:

> Germany will not — in some respects she cannot — abandon her ambitions, though she may keep them to herself for a time; and it is even possible that, in order to divert attention from her domestic difficulties, she may make some new and start-

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ling departure, to the discomfort, if not to the peril, of other nations. A man balancing on a tight-rope may chance to crack the crown of some one in the crowd with his swinging pole.

Once again the Macedonian situation is arousing the greatest concern in the foreign offices of Europe. For once the world gives Russia credit for disinterestedness, and believes that she is more anxious to preserve the peace than to run the risk of embroiling all Europe in war so as to be able to pursue her ambitious designs. For once, also, the sympathy of the world is with Turkey; and, as one English paper remarks, if Abdul Hamid had not forfeited the world's sympathy, it would now be extended to him. It is quite evident that Turkey, no less than Russia, does not want to take the lid off that seething caldron geographically known as Macedonia; and that, on the other hand, the so-called Macedonian Committee is quite willing to deluge Macedonia, and not Macedonia alone, but all the Balkan States, in blood so long as it can gain its freedom and throw off the galling yoke of the hated Turk. Mr. Balfour, the Prime Minister, told the House of Commons only a few days ago that "historic truth requires us to say that the balance of criminality lies rather with the revolutionary bands than with the Turkish troops." It has been many a day since a British statesman has given a certificate of character to Turkish troops or found them more sinned against than sinning.

What the outcome will be no one can tell. One thing is quite certain, and that is that no one wants war at the present time. Russia does not, so far as one is able to judge, because from all accounts she is in no shape to make war. The thought of war is even less attractive to the Sultan, because whenever Turkey goes to war her victories, even when she is victorious, are too costly. And all the rest of Europe — England, Austria, France, and Germany — know the hazard of war, and are far more anxious to preserve peace than to take the desperate chance of the lottery of the sword.

From the Near East to the Far East is a short cry; and it was the Far East that until a few weeks ago caused foreign ministers many an anxious moment, and left it doubtful whether the cradle of the race would not once more be the scene of a titanic conflict. It appeared as if Russia were determined to provoke Japan to hostilities, while Japan needed little provocation to try conclusions with her great rival. Great Britain and the United States, practically acting in concert, directed all their energies to restrain Japan; and it is only the exact truth to say

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that had not this restraining hand been laid upon "the Saxons of the East" — as a careful observer has called the Japanese — by the Saxons of the West, war could not have been averted. The action of Russia in trying to induce China to disregard the American demand for the opening of ports in Manchuria, thereby increasing Russia's hold on that province, was the inciting cause of what so nearly led to war. Secretary Hay's wise and honest diplomacy accomplished two things. It prevented hostilities, and it forced Russia to remove the pressure from China and to permit that power to grant the American demand. American diplomacy, as represented by Mr. Hay, has won another great triumph; and all the rest of the world, no less than the United States, shares in the fruits of that victory.

A. MAURICE LOW.

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FINANCE.

THE last three months have witnessed, in American finance, an extraordinary and in some ways unprecedented series of phenomena. To sum up the period briefly, it may be said that the events comprised in it took the whole community by surprise, and yet, when they had happened, were recognized as the logical sequence of all that had gone before; that the economic causes of each separate incident were plainly visible and readily pointed out, notwithstanding which a large part of the community insisted upon ascribing them to the operation of personal whims and jealousies; finally, that the intelligent financial world, after these striking occurrences in the field of investment values, finds itself wholly unable to agree as to what the further sequel to the derangement of capital will or ought to be. It would, in short, be by no means unreasonable to affirm that the season's events provide a study quite as much in psychology as in finance.

The phenomena of the quarter have presented themselves primarily on the Stock Exchange, in the shifting of investment values; it will be advisable, first of all, therefore, to set forth exactly what has happened in these security quotations. In the last number of THE FORUM a table was compiled showing the fall in prices up to June, from the high level of the present year and of previous years of active speculation. Since the publication of that table — which showed average declines of twenty per cent or more, even from the present year's top level — further declines have occurred, so violent as to emphasize in an exceptional degree the force of the comparison. Taking by itself the quarter beginning with July, the following changes in value have been especially notable. The subjoined figures show the year's low level in typical investment securities, up to June, the low level since that time, and the additional decline thereby shown to have happened in the interim:

	Low to June.	Low to September.	Summer Decline.
Amalgamated Copper	56¼	35¼	21
American Sugar Refining	119	108⅝	10⅜
Baltimore and Ohio	85½	77¼	8¼

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	Low to June.	Low to September.	Summer Decline.
Central of New Jersey	165	156½	8½
Chicago, Milwaukee and St. Paul	147⅝	133¼	14⅜
Chicago and Northwestern	171	154½	16½
Consolidated Gas	195½	164	31½
Delaware, Lackawanna and Western	240	230	10
Louisville and Nashville	112	98⅛	13⅞
Missouri Pacific	102¾	85¾	17
New York Central	124⅜	112⅜	12½
Pennsylvania	125½	118⅛	7⅜
Union Pacific	82⅜	65¼	17⅛
United States Steel	30½	19¾	10¾
United States Steel, Preferred	80	67	13

So much for what, expressed in figures, has befallen investment values in the past three months. However, to grasp the real significance of the period's declines, it would be necessary also to revise the comparison with previous high valuations and to enlarge the list of securities cited on these pages three months ago; but space will not permit me to publish such a table.

Probably the most impressive fact in the comparison of values, to readers familiar with investment markets, will be, not the actual magnitude of the declines but the circumstance that the declines were so evenly distributed through different groups of securities. It had, for instance, grown to be clearly recognized that the bulk of the newer industrial enterprises had been hugely overcapitalized; therefore, the course of values would, perhaps, have seemed logical to all observers had the shrinkage been confined to securities issued against such undertakings. But what perplexed the average watcher of the summer market was the fact that railway securities of established credit, tested through the vicissitudes of many years, able to show an unbroken record of dividends paid and tangible surplus earned, and held in highest esteem by conservative investors, should have suffered equally. As against the forty to fifty per cent decline since 1901 in shares of the Steel, Leather, Tobacco and Rubber combinations, values of standard investment shares of railway companies show such shrinkages as 32 per cent in Chicago, Milwaukee and St. Paul, 22½ per cent in Delaware, Lackawanna and Western, 42 per cent in Chicago and Northwestern, and so on pretty much throughout the list.

I touched upon this question in the last number of THE FORUM. Something more should, however, be said upon it now, because of its bearing on the general problem which has confronted the later markets, and which makes the entire money situation so confused. The simplest,

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and, on the whole, the most conclusive, explanation takes account of the fact that the embarrassed bankers and syndicates, loaded down with unsalable industrial securities, held in reserve, as a portion of their personal capital, large amounts of these very "gilt-edged" shares. The emergency against which such holdings had been accumulated arrived with the investing public's disappearance and the tightening of the summer money markets. Forced to discharge the loans contracted to underwrite and hold the new industrial shares, people thus situated had the alternative of throwing the new shares themselves on a market which would hardly absorb them at any price, or of realizing on the reserve of high-grade stocks and bonds, for which a market was assured. But the trouble really arose from the fact that the new shares were unsalable; therefore the holders sold the best securities they owned, in order to protect the worst until a time when the markets and the public should be more responsive.

This is the explanation which has been accepted as sufficient by both home and foreign critics. It is undoubtedly correct, but it does not tell all the story. Two other normal and very important influences were at work to induce liquidation of the high-grade shares, in addition to which a fourth influence, of a speculative nature, largely controlled the peculiar phenomena of the period. Quite aside from the necessities of embarrassed borrowers, heavy sales of investment shares were logical, because, in the situation then presented, the owner's capital could earn a larger profit in other quarters than in the shares in question. Even after the long decline in prices during May and June, such shares, at the market's valuation, netted the owner, in the dividends declared, little more than four per cent. This was the showing, at an hour when time loans to corporations in the highest credit, placed for a year or more, commanded six per cent, and when merchants and manufacturers in perfectly good standing were borrowing on their notes at an even higher rate. That capital, under such conditions, should flow from the high-priced railway shares to these other quarters of investment was as certain as that water will seek its level.

But, in addition to the opportunities for more profitable investment offered by markets for time loans and commercial paper, there was the further inducement created by knowledge of other large security issues impending in the future. Exactly what this meant, in a single stock, was seen last spring, when the Pennsylvania Railroad's offer to its own existing shareholders of $90,000,000 worth of new shares was promptly followed by the wholesale marketing of their stock by these very hold-

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ers, in order to obtain the capital to subscribe to the new stock at the lower issue price. What occurred in the case of the Pennsylvania has been to a large extent impending throughout the general market. Since the Pennsylvania's narrow escape from a highly embarrassing outcome to its undertaking, no company has ventured to put out more stock or bonds in the present market. But while refraining from such issue of new securities, some of the strongest railway corporations have been driven to a frank confession that the issue had merely been postponed; the temporary loans, raised at high rates by the companies in question, being in every case accompanied by explanations that the money was thus borrowed only in order to tide over the company's affairs until the market for its stocks and bonds should be more receptive. This being so, the motive for the holder of high-priced shares to withdraw his capital and place it where it should be at hand on a moment's notice is sufficiently obvious.

These motives — reinforced by the fact that so-called "community-of-interest" purchases, along with occasional lavish buying in contests for control, had raised prices of many standard railway shares to unprecedented heights, where net yield to investors was absurdly small — are the true economic explanation of the remarkable fall in values. There is another influence, however, which must be carefully examined in studying the season's break of prices. It is undoubtedly the explanation to which the general public has attached the chief importance. Readers of newspapers, on days when this season's fall in prices was most violent, will recall the emphasis laid by market reports on "bear selling," "bear raids," and "bear manipulation." Certain active securities would be reported, day by day, as "under pressure by the bears." Still more particularly, when the melting away of values had progressed so far as to force four or five Stock Exchange houses into insolvency, "bear rumors" of other and far more serious impending disasters engaged the whole attention of the markets.

Now the "bear operator" unquestionably plays as large a part in markets like this summer's as the "bull operator" plays in excited upward movements like those of April, 1901, and August, 1902. It is perfectly natural that the professional speculator should put in a conspicuous appearance on such occasions. In 1901 he bought stocks which he believed were being bought in quantity by large capitalists and by the public; his expectation being that this other buying would force up the price, enlarge the markets, and enable him to sell his own holdings later at the higher level. Conversely, speculators of that sort

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sold stocks this summer — borrowing the securities to make delivery, after the fashion of Stock-Exchange speculation — their obvious reason being that they foresaw a selling movement by real holders, causes of which have already been summarized. Precisely as the "bull" of 1901 reckoned on selling to take profits at the high level of the upward movement, so the "bear" of 1903 counted on buying in, at bottom prices, what he had sold in the course of the decline.

This is a very elementary sketch of the machinery of speculative Wall Street. Taken by themselves, such operations are of the slightest possible consequence to the broad and permanent movement of finance. They are merely incidents; they are, so to speak, usually nothing more than ripples and eddies in the ebb or flow of the great financial tide. It will be seen, from this brief sketch, that the bear is never an influence of the first importance; that he is always an incident and not a cause; and, furthermore, that what he sells to-day he must buy back later on — thus forcing up prices by his purchases — so that he cannot figure as a permanent factor of depression. In short, the most that his activities can accomplish, in a creative way, is done through his power of anticipating, and at times prolonging, tendencies which originate from very different causes. It would not be at all essential to devote even this much of space to such machinery of speculation, but for the fact that the general public has already shown a disposition to construct a legend whereby all the phenomena of the present market are ascribed to the influence of these speculators for the fall.

Instead of assigning everything to a group of more or less obscure professional speculators, who were "manipulating" markets for the benefit of their several pockets, the belief which now pervades the popular understanding assumes two rival groups of enormously wealthy capitalists engaged in a deadly struggle; the one striving to undermine the other through forcing down prices for securities owned by that rival interest, and pledged against its loans. This theory calls for fair discussion.

It may be conceded, to begin with, that there were in the recent market at least two groups of very powerful capitalists, whose situation as regards the market differs radically. One of these groups, comprising numerous important private capitalists and banking houses, managed, during the Stock Exchange craze of 1901 and 1902, to involve itself very heavily in the market. The exact position, now or heretofore, of the various individuals in this group is not easy to detect.

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Taking the group as a whole, however, it may be said, to begin with, that it comprised bankers whose resources had become hopelessly tied up with the "undigested securities" already discussed in these pages. It was this group of capitalists which floated the huge industrial combination of 1900, 1901, and 1902; which, in the guise of syndicates, "underwrote" the enormous subsequent issues of securities; which bought up the control of powerful railways at unprecedented valuations, paying the price in new securities issued by other railways and similarly underwritten; and which, for these and other similar purposes, not only expanded to abnormal volume the loan account of fiduciary institutions, but borrowed from Europe, on their own finance bills, several hundreds of millions of dollars — a debt whose subsequent repayment strained severely both the resources of domestic banks and the resisting capacity of domestic markets. It should be obvious, from this review of perfectly well-known facts, that the group in question, taken as a whole, occupied a vulnerable position.

Another group, probably quite as powerful in real resources, held an exactly opposite position. The operations of this group have been less easy to define and trace, because, while the activities of the group above described were disclosed and advertised by public incorporations and detailed financial announcements, the second group of financiers were able, on the whole, to act in secret — to buy and sell, in other words, on the footing of ordinary investors. But, as regards even these, certain facts were sufficiently well established — one, their rather consistent refusal to entangle themselves with "underwriting" schemes; another, their attitude of passive disapproval of last year's inflated prices. These two facts were enough to prove with fair conclusiveness: first, that the capitalists in question were able to command their own capital when it could be used to advantage; secondly, that they were not indulging this year in wholesale operations for the rise; and, thirdly, by reasonable inference, that they were willing to see more inviting prices, at which they could replace their capital in standard investment shares.

These are the reasonable facts out of which has been constructed the legend of a "war" between two great financial interests, in which personal jealousy was the motive, and battering-down of prices for stocks controlled by the rival interests the method, of campaign. The popular notion framed itself much as follows: For reasons not stated, bitter hostility exists between the rival financiers. Each group is interested in particular securities. The attacking party selects, for example,

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United States Steel shares as a vulnerable point, and breaks the price some twenty or thirty per cent. In retaliation, Amalgamated Copper shares, assumed to be the favorite stock of the attacking party, are assailed by the interest identified with the Steel shares. Incidentally, everything else in the way of investment securities is shaken; and the "Battle of Titans," as the penny dreadfuls take most pleasure in characterizing the operation, upsets the entire financial structure, much as real war brings devastation on unlucky spectators.

The stating of this theory ought to be enough to expose its foolishness. The theory, even if not fantastic, is at least unnecessary. It is reasonable to assume that financiers will sell their holding of any given stock, if they expect to get it back later on at lower prices. It is conceivable, if they know some other holder will be forced to sell at a sacrifice when the price goes low enough, that they may even increase the pressure through sales of borrowed stock on the plan of "bear speculation." In such a case, the "covering" purchases would be easily effected, if the plan worked out successfully, during the forced liquidation of the embarrassed holder. But this involves no "war," and need not be inspired by personal jealousies. It is precisely what occurs on all occasions in a speculative market. It is precisely what every intelligent investor, great or small, to-day wishes that he himself had done. It became sensational in aspect, during the season just past, only because the commitments of the embarrassed financiers and their consequent liquidation were of unprecedented magnitude. The simple facts remain, after all the fictions of the market have been laid aside, that huge masses of securities were held on borrowed money; that the lenders wanted their money back; that outside investors would not buy the stocks except at bargain prices; and, therefore, that the unfortunate operators had to sell for whatever they could get.

I have discussed this phase of the financial situation at greater length, perhaps, than the subject really warrants, because it is easily possible for those who credit the legend of a "Battle of Titans" to mistake the whole significance of the movement. Having touched upon the fictions which surround the market's real phenomena, it is now easier to review the season's events. In the previous number of this magazine, the state of feeling regarding the "undigested securities" problem was discussed in detail. This was the condition precedent which made the summer markets possible. The acute convulsion of the Stock Exchange, involving not only the violent break in prices, but the

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failure of five financial houses, had more immediate origin in the money market.

The phenomena of that market have been curious and in some respects perplexing. What made the movement an actual crisis in the affairs of Wall Street was the fact that, at the worst of the decline, the credit of financial houses came to be called in question. Before the downward sweep of values had been checked, five Stock Exchange houses in New York had been driven to suspension, and the names of others, alleged to be on the verge of such embarrassment, were freely whispered throughout Wall Street. On one or two occasions, doubt as to how far such wreck of credit would in the end extend brought the feeling of financial markets into a state which might almost be described as panic.

The collapse of values was arrested, at the opening of August, before any really grave disaster had occurred. There were, indeed, several curious facts about the actual failures which made it difficult to draw exact conclusions. Midsummer failures on the Stock Exchange are all but unprecedented; the reason being that summer is traditionally a time of easy money, whereas failures ordinarily occur because money cannot be borrowed by the embarrassed banker. Now "call money," which the banker or broker ordinarily uses in his business, was easily obtainable this summer.

This was one curious anomaly of the season. Another was, that the insolvent firms were not in any instance houses which had been involved in the industrial underwritings and promotions which were the prime cause of all the trouble. In every case the liabilities which the houses could not meet were incurred through operations, not in industrials, but in railway shares. The largest of the failures seemed to have been occasioned by a disastrous effort to force up values for the Southern Pacific Railway shares, through a "pool" of speculators. Another came about through a banker's effort to control, through borrowed money, shares of a Mexican railway. Still another house came to grief through a similar effort to control the Evansville and Terre Haute. No doubt, these houses contributed, through sales of other investment shares in the effort to save themselves, to the outpour of such high-grade stocks. They failed, in fact, because stocks whose value was, for other reasons, falling rapidly, had been used by themselves as collateral against their borrowings. When the loans were recalled because the collateral had become insufficient, they were forced to confess insolvency. But none of the firms which actually failed was of such calibre or resources as to

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account in any satisfactory way for the enormous general liquidation. The inference thus became inevitable that the pressure under which the security market broke came from sales of houses which held sufficient real resources in reserve, but which had to protect themselves, in face of the fall of values, by letting their other holdings go at a heavy sacrifice. That they were able so to do, without even disclosing their identity, was commonly cited as a proof of a really strong position. It certainly proved that the hard-pressed financiers were possessed of powerful reserves; whence the familiar saying that this was a "rich man's panic."

Of all the anomalies above referred to, the most confusing was the course of rates for money. That money was scarce, in the sense of being difficult to obtain for fixed terms in the commercial or financial markets, has been amply demonstrated; yet at the same time loans of money repayable on demand were easily obtainable. During the severest pressure in the Stock Exchange call money failed entirely to advance. On recent occasions, such as last October, when reaction in the stock market became violent, money on call has advanced temporarily to rates as high as twenty-five or fifty per cent. During the whole of the last season, the highest rate reached by Stock-Exchange call loans was six per cent, and the days were very few when such loans could not be had in abundance at two or three per cent.

This fact has perplexed a good many observers of the markets — more especially when large borrowers in high credit were finding it difficult to obtain time money. It was not, however, in the least surprising when its particular causes were examined, nor did it militate in any degree against the theory of a straitened credit situation. Call loans were cheap throughout the summer because borrowers as a whole did not want that form of credit, and because lenders as a whole were especially anxious to invest in it. The Stock Exchange, from which comes by far the greater part of the inquiry for demand loans, had been selling its speculative holdings and liquidating the loans necessitated by such holdings. Therefore, the actual request for loans on call this summer could scarcely have been one-half as great as it was a year ago. As for the lending institution, its policy clearly was to place its funds where they could be recalled immediately. Thus placed, the credits would be surely available, either for sudden calls from the harvest country or for a really serious emergency in the markets. The situation, therefore, shaped itself, in the most logical of ways,

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into a money market where supply of capital offered on such loans was immensely in excess of the demand for it. Of this, the two-per-cent call rate, with occasional drops to one and a half or one, was the accurate measure.

The position just explained did not apply to loans with a three or six months' term. Supply was scant in credits of this sort, because the lenders, face to face with a doubtful and disquieting situation, were reluctant to let more than a limited portion of their funds pass from their control pending the autumn season. Demand was at the same time very large; because the borrower, with continuing needs for capital, naturally wished to assure himself beyond peradventure throughout the period of uncertainty. On ordinary occasions, rates for time loans will be under, rather than over, the prevailing rate on call. This summer, while the call loan rate was dropping repeatedly to one-and-a-half per cent, a good part of the three and six months' credit granted commanded six per cent.

Such a movement was reasonable enough, even when the routine phenomena of the market were considered. The position was, however, greatly emphasized by another development of the season, more disquieting in its aspect than any which had gone before. We saw, in the last number of THE FORUM, what followed the Pennsylvania Railroad's experiment in offering new stock in large amounts for subscription by investors. That company's offer of $75,000,000 shares at 120, made when outstanding shares sold at 157 in the market, resulted in a fall of the old shares to 120, and in some very awkward incidental complications. The Pennsylvania standing perhaps the first among all American railway enterprises in credit and financial prestige, this experience was hardly such as to invite imitation by its fellow-corporations. Yet it so happened that a number of companies had shaped plans, and in many instances involved themselves in contracts, calling for very large amounts of capital. The Union Pacific Railway, for example, needed $10,000,000; the New York Central, with the projected remodelling of its approaches and terminal at New York, needed another heavy sum. Half a dozen other railways found themselves confronted with similar requirements, some of which apparently represented expenditure already made from treasury funds which had to be replaced.

There is little profit in discussing the wisdom or unwisdom of incurring such liabilities in face of a tightening money market. Some of the needs in question, affecting track improvement and replacement of cars and motive power exhausted by the strain of heavy traffic, could

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not be deferred. Some, like the New York Central's requirements, were demanded outright by general public opinion. At least a part of the necessities in question may be thus accounted for. On the other hand, it must frankly be admitted that the railway managements, and the bankers associated with them, had read the signs of the times very imperfectly, and had committed their companies to ambitious and costly undertakings which were poorly adapted to the condition unfolding, even then, in the money market. It will readily be seen that they were now confronted with a rather awkward situation. Investors, as the Pennsylvania's experiment had proved, would not provide the capital except by taking new securities at prices very adverse to the interests of the companies. The larger banking houses, which ordinarily would have bought up the new securities and held them for future markets, were tied up in their older underwriting obligations. The banks flatly announced their inability to help the borrowing corporations out. There was left as an immediate resource only the European banking institutions, and to them the railway companies resorted, as the Stock-Exchange borrowers had done in the early spring. The companies, through the medium of bankers, offered their notes, running from twelve to eighteen months, either at a heavy discount from face value or at a very substantial interest rate. As a rule, these heavy temporary loans, including Union Pacific's $10,000,000 borrowing, were offered in London at six per cent or higher. This was done when time loans to European borrowers went at three per cent in London, at three and a quarter in Berlin, and at two and a half or thereabouts in Paris. In other words, these corporations were unable to raise the requisite capital at home, and, to get it from the foreign markets, had to pay nearly double the rate then prevalent on those markets.

These railway borrowings of course create a problem of the future. Next summer, or in the ensuing winter, they should normally be paid off, and the payment will inevitably force exchange against this country and draw heavily on domestic credits. If the investing community has by that time resumed its interest in the markets, the process may be reasonably simple. The companies will sell new securities at fair prices, and with the proceeds pay off their maturing loans. That must be left for the future to work out.

The borrowing railways incurred particular criticism, because of their failure to make clear and public statements as to the reason why such large sums of capital were thus imperatively needed. The critics did not allege or assume that any but proper and reasonable use was to

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be made of the money obtained. Their point — which, in the interest of the general situation, was entirely valid — was that so long as the money market did not know precisely why the Union Pacific, for example, had to have $10,000,000 new capital at once, it would be left necessarily in the dark as to what additional demands of a similar character must be looked for. Such uncertainty was emphasized by a very remarkable announcement made, in the worst demoralization of the market, by the Rock Island Railway Company. At the end of July this company announced its purpose of asking from the shareholders, at the autumn meeting, authority to put out $250,000,000 more securities. These issues were to be of bonds, and the capital raised by them was, in the language of the notice, to be used

> for the purpose of refunding, redeeming, or paying, at or before maturity, outstanding obligations of this company and of such other companies whose properties are now or shall hereafter be acquired or controlled by consolidation, purchase, lease, ownership of shares of stock, or otherwise, by the Chicago, Rock Island and Pacific Railway Company; for the purpose of the future enlargement, improvement, extension, and equipment of the properties of this company and of such other companies; for the construction, purchase, or acquisition of other railways and property; for the purchase, exchange, or acquisition of bonds and stocks of other companies; for the purpose of reimbursing this company for moneys at any time expended for any of the purposes aforesaid; and for other lawful purposes.

It will be observed that absolutely no restriction, beyond the restriction of the courts, is placed by this announcement on the use of this quarter of a billion capital by the company; that company, moreover, being already under absolute control, through last year's ingenious stock-division scheme, of a single group of capitalists. For reasons obvious enough, the problems created by this proposed experiment are problems of the more or less distant future. The company could not sell any such amount of bonds to-day, or even a fraction of that sum. A good deal of time is likely to elapse, and a good many things may happen, before the use of the power requested will be practicable, except for the mere exchange of the new securities for outstanding shares of other companies, through which control might be obtained.

So much, then, for the railways as an influence in the persistent demands on the season's money market. These demands, we have seen, passed well beyond the capacity of domestic lending institutions. They were preceded by another form of inquiry for capital, which was much more disquieting because of the state of things which it brought to light. Experienced observers, at the height of the craze for industrial incorpo-

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rations, predicted openly that the rock on which these hastily contrived experiments were bound to split was lack of "working capital."

This prediction requires a little explanation. When a dozen or more existing manufacturing establishments were combined into one industrial corporation, the stock issued to carry through the "deal" was assigned very much as follows: (1) so much for actual value of existing plants; (2) so much for "good-will," which might mean merely trade prestige and earning power, but was more likely to mean the price fixed by the owner for his compulsory retirement from business; (3) so much for promoters' and bankers' fees, or for commission for "underwriting syndicates"; (4) so much for working capital. By working capital was meant a fund in bank sufficient to buy material for manufacture and to pay current wages and salaries, until such time as payment by purchasers of the finished goods should reimburse the company.

How large a fund would be required for this last-named purpose depended, of course, on circumstances — on the costliness of raw material, on the extent to which extended credits figured in payment either for these materials or for the finished manufactures, to some extent even on the magnitude of trade demands, and hence of contracts undertaken to meet them. Estimates, in advance, of the actual cash needs for such purposes were extremely difficult to make. Unscrupulous promoters, anxious only to pass along the new stock at the earliest moment to the public, did on occasion go so far as to ignore such needs entirely in their sale of securities for capital. By such a policy, they were, of course, able to cut down substantially the aggregate of stock for which they were forced to find a market. Even where this action did not obscure the problem of working capital, there were cases enough where misjudgment of the problem led to as bad results.

Individual manufacturers, such as sold out to the trusts, were accustomed to raise their working capital largely from the banks. As soon as preparation for active manufacture had begun, they offered their six or nine months' notes to neighboring institutions. The banker to whom the manufacturer applied was likely to be familiar not only with the ramifications of his neighbor's business, but with the personal record, character, and business methods of the borrower. Coming as it did through establishments separated both in ownership and in location, such a demand was readily provided for. In fact, the discounting of manufacturers' paper made up a very considerable part of the business of provincial banks in certain districts. Very many promoters and syndicating bankers argued optimistically that the company which com-

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bined under single ownership these various manufactories would enjoy the same facilities.

This hope was mere delusion. The combination, to begin with, had, as a rule, annihilated at a single stroke the element of personal reputation which had played so great a part in discounts formerly made for its constituent corporations. Further, the sum required for working capital, and now required by a single borrower, was equal to the previous requirements of all the companies combined. Where ten manufacturers, who formerly borrowed, say, a million dollars each for an active season's needs, had sold out to a central company, that company obviously had to procure for the same purposes in the ensuing season no less than ten million dollars. But for ten well-known and well-tried borrowers to obtain a million each is a vastly simpler problem than for one new and untested borrower, even with the same facilities and "good-will," to raise ten millions; and this the industrial combinations very soon discovered. The so-called "Malting Trust" came to grief through this very cause at the high tide of industrial prosperity; but it was naturally reserved for the last season's scarcity of capital and ultra-conservatism by the banks to give the real test to the situation.

I mentioned, in the last number of THE FORUM, the trouble in which the Shipbuilding Combination found itself. At first the difficulties of that undertaking seemed to arise from inability to float its shares. Embarrassment from this cause only was sufficiently alarming. A large part of the concern's securities had been "underwritten" by one of the younger trust companies of New York City. This company made itself responsible for the capital subscribed, expecting to reimburse itself by sale of the underwritten shares to investors or to other underwriters. It was apparently induced to place itself in that position through an extraordinary tale, set forth by certain promoters, that they were assured of an absolutely unquestionable market with certain Paris capitalists. Some people have doubted — not without reasonable grounds — whether foreign capitalists, able to buy the stock, were ever actually interested. However this may be, the facts are apparently established that the negotiations were a mere burlesque; that the Frenchmen cited as intending buyers were financiers of distinctly second rate; and that, whatever their assurances to begin with, they ended by refusing flatly to provide the capital promised by the intermediary.

This collapse of an expected "deal" resulted, first, in a hasty "unloading" of their shares by domestic holders, with consequent disappearance of the market, and, next, in the narrow escape of the trust company

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from grave embarrassment; this escape being made possible only through the transfer of its Shipbuilding securities, at a very low valuation, to a banker's syndicate. But it presently appeared that even the syndicate had bought into nothing but loss and litigation. By its nature, the shipbuilding industry involved exceptional requirements for working capital. No such provision had been made by its organizers; and, in addition to this unpleasant fact, examination of the company's accounts by experts forced the public confession that the earning capacity of the companies absorbed had been grossly misrepresented and exaggerated at the amalgamation.

Though the remarkable episode of the Shipbuilding combination was no doubt exceptional in the number of blunders and peculiar practices converged on a single enterprise, the facts established in regard to it are typical of many others. That its mistaken plans for procuring working capital were not peculiar to this single case was proved by the number of minor embarrassments of the kind which followed or preceded it. One of these affected an enterprise of high standing in New England — the so-called Cotton-yarn Company, formed to combine nine separate mills in that branch of industry. Without the slightest warning, shareholders who had been receiving seven per cent dividends were notified that a cash assessment was inevitable, and that, for old stock and new cash combined, they would receive a smaller block of shares, with a lower rate of dividend, than they had held at the company's organization. Similar revelations of distress occurred in the case of the Consolidated Lake Superior undertaking, which paid seven per cent dividends up to September, 1902, but had to confess virtual insolvency this summer. There are undoubtedly other distresses of the sort which will be heard from later; for the season's money market is at any rate shut to all but high-grade borrowers.

As the Shipbuilding episode was typical of the progress of events from one point of view, so the remarkable experiences which beset the Steel Corporation's shares were typical from another. It is, in fact, necessary to examine this second episode very carefully, in order to determine what were the actual governing conditions of the period.

What happened to the Steel shares is very well known to the public. The declines of 35 and 63 per cent respectively, between highest and lowest prices of the preferred and common shares, were severe enough, but could not fairly be called exceptional. The stock's extreme weakness of midsummer, however, was unlike the fall of other indus-

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trial shares, in that it came while both preferred and common Steel stocks were paying unchanged dividends, and publishing earnings reports which apparently insured continuance of such payment. It was unlike the fall in first-class railway shares, because of the enormous magnitude of stock thrown on the market, and because of the very extraordinary yield to the investor offered through purchase of the stock at the lowest prices. In one single week of August, sales of Steel preferred reached a volume of 123,000 shares, or say, $8,600,000, while sales of the common reached 311,000, or, about $6,800,000. A still more interesting calculation, however, shows that the investor who, at the close of July, bought Steel common at 20⅜ and Steel preferred at 67, with dividends continued at the respective rates of 4 and 7 per cent, would net on his investment 10⅝ per cent in the case of the preferred shares, and very nearly 20 with the common.

Now it hardly need be said that investment stocks will never sell at rates guaranteeing such a yield, unless (1) money is absolutely non-procurable, as in case of panic; or (2) continuance of dividends at prevailing rates, or of any dividends at all, is deemed improbable; or (3) complete perplexity and distrust have surrounded all the operations of the enterprise. The striking fact of the Steel Corporation's experience in this summer's market is that, although no one of these three influences was fully at work, nevertheless each influence, in modified form, played an essential part. Money was not unprocurable, but it was hard to get on collateral of industrial securities. Existing dividends were apparently warranted by reported earnings; but critics held that a larger depreciation fund ought to have been accumulated before the common stock received a dividend, and that a really violent fall in price of steel would make such payment doubtful. As for the general question of distrust, it must be said that the ill-judged and disastrous scheme to float the company's $250,000,000 bonds, the complications of an important officer of the company, and, in addition, the seemingly endless outpour of the stock at the lowest prices were enough to frighten anybody.

The truth is, people are only beginning to appreciate how great an element of weakness was the company's billion-dollar capitalization. Instead of assuring the stability of the shares in question, this concentration of the title to ownership of so enormous and varied enterprises made permanent lodgment of the stock exceptionally difficult. The reasons for this indisputable fact are found in human nature. Prudent investors rarely choose to place their savings all in a single security;

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and their dislike to such a policy must certainly increase when the fortunes of the stock or bond in question are bound up with the vicissitudes of a single industry.

Now with the Steel Corporation, several facts combined to remove the shares at once from the field which high grade government securities occupy. The company's capitalization was known to be inflated. It had exchanged its stock for shares of subsidiary companies, which, by admission of their organizers on the witness-stand, had themselves been capitalized for double or treble the original valuation. Again, the most time-honored tradition of industrial markets is, and always has been, that the steel and iron industry exceeds all others in the vicissitudes of trade prosperity and adversity. Some of the most important constituents of the Steel incorporation were concerns which not only passed dividends in the hard times of the nineties, but went bankrupt. That profits of these companies, in their amalgamated form, should be great enough, at the present height of active trade, to pay dividends even on a highly inflated capitalization is neither surprising nor unprecedented. As against the seven and four per cent paid on the present Steel Trust shares, it is a matter of record that, in 1879 and 1880, small manufactories of steel and iron turned out and sold material at a profit of no less than one hundred per cent on cost. This did not prevent the equally violent reaction ten years later.

It is not the purpose of this argument to criticize the Steel incorporation, which has in fact given by its policy many reasons to warrant its existence in its present form; which has modified the excesses of the markets, reduced the steel trade as a whole to greater system, and perfected many valuable economies of production and distribution. But it is necessary to face the facts courageously and intelligently, if the market's phenomena are to be explained at all; and the result of such a policy is to stamp the methods of financing this enormous trust as full of both theoretical and practical mistakes. The central point where weakness was developed was that which concerned distribution of the shares. The public, it is true, bought very largely; but large as its buyings were, they were small in proportion to the total volume of stock created. Therefore, the bulk of this huge capital was lodged in 1903, as in 1901, in the hands of people who organized and "underwrote" the Steel Trust and its constituent companies before it. These people were, in two respects, an uncertain constituency on which to depend for the permanent holding of the Steel shares. First, they knew, far better than the general public, the vicissitudes to which in the long run their

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enterprise must be subjected, and therefore did not wish to keep their huge holdings of the stock indefinitely. Secondly, the paper profits, obtained by this very enterprise, tempted them into other extensive speculative ventures, which largely went amiss. When forced to the wall in these other and disastrous undertakings, they sold their solid investment shares because those were surest of a market, and then threw over blocks of "Steel" because that stock, largely obtained for nothing, involved no actual loss if sold at any price.

As to the company's actual finances, and the prospects of the investor who buys its shares around the present low prices, it can only be said that the situation is not altered from what it was a year ago, except that twelve months more of the exceptional trade prosperity which has insured the corporation's profits have elapsed.

I have devoted so much space to the discussion of the season's phenomena in the money and investment markets that discussion of such other influences as harvest results and general trade must be passed over lightly. As regards the crops, this would be in any case inevitable, because the lateness of the season has left the harvest out-turn, even now, involved in more than usual uncertainty. At the moment of writing, the grain crops promise an average yield, considerably less than the prospect of the early summer; but still substantially, on the basis of the August government estimate, the wheat crop, which had promised 750,000,000 bushels earlier in the season, points now to a total of barely 650,000,000. Yet even that crop, if harvested, would have been exceeded by only three wheat yields in our history — those of 1902, 1901, and 1898. Corn, too, though its promise was reduced both in July and August, still in the last-named month indicated a crop surpassed by the actual yield in 1902 and 1896 only, and the September statement showed improvement both in condition and expected yield. But corn had the test of frost, the menace of all late crops, before it, and, at this writing, is seriously endangered. It is very likely that this crop question will become of considerably larger interest later on, when the export question comes once more to the foreground.

The foreign trade position has not changed. Even in July, while merchandise exports increased $2,748,000 over 1902, imports increased $3,032,000. What was perhaps more striking was the fact that all the export increase came in other than agricultural commodities. For the seven months ending with July, a $61,204,000 increase in exports was offset by a $59,358,000 gain in imports, while excess of gold exports

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over imports for the period was much the largest since 1897, footing up to a total excess of $21,846,000.

One of the curious problems of the coming autumn is whether the high demand for capital will not result in free movement of gold from Europe to this country — a normal movement for the season which has not, however, been witnessed in the autumn during any year since 1900. There is a general, and by no means unreasonable, hope for such relief, founded upon the fact that heavy remittances to repay our floating foreign obligations, which have repeatedly forced exchange against this country when it should have moved in our favor, ought now to be in some degree suspended, since the large repayment of last spring.

Such an expectation was generally maintained until the opening of September, when a sudden contest for control of international capital began between the markets of London and Berlin. The Bank of England put up its rate, quite unexpectedly, from three to four per cent; money markets tightened at all European cities. Incidentally, British consols fell to a lower price than any reached in the great decline of last spring, and much the lowest since 1870; thus reflecting a condition in London finance not wholly unlike what existed here last summer — too great a mass of securities, good and indifferent, held on borrowed money.

This situation may influence ours — especially as Europe will now hardly part with willingness with gold. In the end, however, it is shipment of agricultural products which must largely govern the outcome, and in this regard the cotton situation cannot be ignored. Of this, it need only be said that although the staple's price has fallen some three-quarters of a cent a pound from the extreme high price of thirteen and a half, to which the corner manipulators forced it in July, the corner still maintains itself. Aided by an undoubted actual scarcity of cotton for immediate delivery, exports have been kept down, though the value of such exports, at prevailing prices, has been about as great as in the similar period of 1902. What is more serious, as regards both home and export trade, is the check to cotton manufacture through the high price of raw material and the consequent closing down of mills. This has impaired very seriously the movement of such goods to the foreign markets.

The outlook for next season's general trade embodies a conundrum which, more than any other, has divided opinion as to the proper answer. Taking the broadest survey, it is possible to say that trade is active, that demand is continuous, and that both manufacturers and merchants are busily employed. If it were not for the entanglement of capital,

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the future might be read wholly optimistically. But actual want of capital and actual difficulty in procuring loans for general purposes cannot fail, in some degree at least, to derange the machinery of trade. It is apt to check demand from enterprises which, like building and kindred undertakings, depend for their prosecution on an abundant use of borrowed money. It may restrict demand from other quarters where the scarcity of capital has deranged the plans of trade, restricted profits, and thus curtailed personal expenditure. Even the collapse of Wall-Street speculation, the "rich men's panic," and the resultant heavy losses are factors not to be hastily ignored in reckoning on the prospects for the coming demands of trade.

Much, therefore, necessarily depends on the action of the autumn money markets. Actual volume of the autumn currency withdrawals from the East to the harvest States remains to be determined; it must be seen whether other corporation borrowings are to be confronted; whether Europe will help by gold remittances. Up to the present date, the showing is not wholly reassuring. Loans do not decrease; in face of the continued slow liquidation at the opening of September they increase some millions weekly, and as cash reserves expand but slowly, the surplus over legal requirements ebbs slowly off. Loans, at the same time, exceed the total of deposits; and though this phenomenon may be easily explained — as, for instance, by the recent great increase of New York bank capital and surplus, which, like deposits, may be loaned — nevertheless, the fact remains that in all previous experience such excess in loans means that capital as a whole is really strained. All this the coming season's market ought to test. The reassuring facts are that speculation, which ran riot on the Stock Exchange and among the company promoters, has not pervaded trade at large; that the public, unlike Wall Street, is not heavily involved in debt which it cannot quickly liquidate; and that the warning of the security and money markets has been heeded by the country.

ALEXANDER D. NOYES.

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APPLIED SCIENCE.

An interesting and notable feature of applied science of recent date is the influence which observed facts have had upon the question of the revision of theoretical views. Both theories and the hypotheses which precede them are more useful, and indeed are most necessary, as indicating the lines along which practical researches may be profitably conducted; but they must not be allowed to deter investigators from following out leads which apparently conflict with existing laws. At the present time there are facts which continue to present themselves before the most painstaking and reliable observers — facts which do not agree with existing theories, and which may lead to the revision, or even abandonment, of positions hitherto deemed impregnable. As Sir William Crookes so well said in his recent address before the Congress of Chemists at Berlin:

> It must never be forgotten that theories are only useful as long as they admit of the harmonious correlations of facts into a reasonable system. Directly a fact refuses to be pigeon-holed, and will not be explained on theoretic grounds, the theory must go, or it must be revised to admit the new fact.

Examples of the newly-observed facts which are causing the theories to be reëxamined have already been mentioned in these reviews. The idea of the indivisibility of the atom, or, rather, of the existence of the atom as the ultimate limiting element of matter, is being discarded in view of the requirements demanded by electrical phenomena; while the observed facts in connection with radio-active bodies are causing the theories of the correlation of forces and the conservation of energy to be scrutinized more critically than ever before.

Undoubtedly, our knowledge of the facts in connection with the behavior of radio-active substances has been limited by the small quantity of such substances available for experiment and research. Practically all of the radium which has been prepared has been the result of the labors of M. and Mme. Curie, at their private laboratory in Paris. There is, however, a prospect that the separation of radium and its compounds may be effected in the United States upon a much larger scale than has

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hitherto been attempted. Ores of uranium and the allied metals, including radium, are known to exist in Utah; and radium-barium compounds have already been isolated, showing marked evidences of radioactivity. If plans which have already been made are carried out, it is altogether possible that radium may be produced in the United States before long on a commercial scale, thus enabling its usefulness to be more widely extended than would otherwise be possible.

During recent months the development of the art of telegraphing through space by means of magnetic waves has been continuous, although no very startling experiments have been made. The most immediate application of the system is undoubtedly that of providing means for communication between vessels at sea, either with shore stations or with each other; and the progress in this respect has been very satisfactory, most of the important transatlantic liners now being equipped with the necessary apparatus. The recent international congress for the discussion of rules and methods of operation has been held; but for the present the results have been withheld from the public, doubtless with good reason. The manner in which intentional interference was carried on during the recent international yacht races demonstrates the necessity for some sort of effective coöperation to enable such conduct to be summarily dealt with. Experiments have shown that while it is practicable so to tune receivers and transmitters that a reasonable degree of privacy may be attained, it is still possible for those who are so disposed to produce interfering and confusing effects; and certainly such disorderly conduct should be treated like any other breach of the peace.

The recent trip of Mr. Marconi across the Atlantic, during which he maintained communication at all times with either one shore or the other, is an excellent example of what may be accomplished with suitable apparatus; and there is every reason to believe that, with improvements in the transmitting apparatus, any vessel may be so equipped as to be in communication with the land throughout the entire voyage, without involving an unwarranted expenditure of energy or money.

Although the international yacht races are generally regarded as more of a sporting matter than an engineering question, it is interesting to note the extent to which the work of the engineer has entered into the design of both challenger and defender. Until a few years ago, the matter of the design of a racing yacht was looked upon as an exhibition of personal talent, much in the same manner as the skill of an Amati

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or a Stradivarius swept the outlines, and worked the materials, of a violin. At the present time, individual skill is, indeed, required; but the methods employed and the principles involved are no longer those of the craftsman alone, but include those of the engineer as well. There is little doubt that the greater speed of the "Reliance" was due to her greater powering, in practically the same manner as is the case with a steam-propelled vessel. Within certain limits, the controlling elements in speed are those which depend upon the lines of the hull and the manner of its progress through the water. When these limits are exceeded, however, the question of powering predominates; and it has been shown that, both in this respect and in the mechanical details of construction, the work of the engineer enters so largely into the problem of modern yacht design as to render it largely a matter of computation.

The questions of power generation and fuel economy are always before the engineer, and the present measure of efficiency is the resultant of many improvements, each a step toward the ultimate end. In a recent address before the German Society of Engineers, Prof. Carl von Linde reviewed the present state of the art of power generation from fuel, showing the proportion of efficiency already attained, and the probable lines along which future progress may be expected.

The mechanical theory of heat enables diagrams to be constructed from which the maximum amount of work possible for any given temperature-range may be accurately determined. By comparing these with the actual diagrams produced by any particular form of engine or motor, the extent to which the theoretical performance has been approached may be seen. Thus, in the case of the steam engine using saturated steam, but 13.8 per cent of the possible energy in the supplied heat is returned as power. Since a portion of the loss is due to internal condensation, it may be partially remedied by the employment of superheated steam, and in this way the efficiency has been brought up to 16.6 per cent.

Nearly as high a performance has been given to older engines of a wasteful type by the employment of an auxiliary engine to utilize the waste heat rejected with the exhaust steam. In the type of waste-heat engine designed by Prof. Josse, of Berlin, the heat in the exhaust steam is used to vaporize sulphurous acid, this vapor being employed to drive a second engine. The combined economy of this arrangement reaches over 15 per cent, and hence the device permits an improvement in the efficiency of old engines without involving their entire

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reconstruction. The steam turbine, especially of the multiple type, as developed by Parsons, Rateau, and others, using steam superheated as high as 300° C., has developed a thermal efficiency of more than 15 per cent; while Rateau has also attained excellent results by employing the exhaust steam from a reciprocating engine to drive a low-pressure turbine. At the same time, it can be demonstrated that with the steam engine it is useless to expect an efficiency of more than one-sixth of the total energy contained in the fuel; and for further advancement some other form of heat motor must be sought.

Professor Linde shows that the line along which improvement is to be found is in the so-called "internal-combustion" motor, of which the ordinary gas engine is the best-known example. With these a thermal efficiency of 25 to 30 per cent has been reached; while by employing higher compressions and a heat cycle more closely approximating to the theoretical, Diesel has reached an efficiency of 42 per cent. Thus, in the course of forty years of continued effort the performance of the steam engine has been raised from an efficiency of one-tenth to one-sixth, while the internal-combustion motor has passed an efficiency of one-third.

The vast importance of effecting every possible economy in fuel consumption for power generation is seen in the constantly increasing demands for coal, for both industrial and naval purposes. A realization that coal is the controlling element in naval warfare is leading the great Powers to equip larger and more numerous coaling stations; and the stores of coal at all such points are being made greater than ever before. An important element in the storage of coal is the extent to which it deteriorates upon exposure to atmospheric influences. It has been thought that a complete submergence of coal under water might materially reduce this deterioration, and experiments are to be conducted to determine the extent to which submergence may protect coal.

In previous reviews in these pages reference has been made to the growing importance of electric traction, as an example of applied science, both from a social and from a commercial point of view. The recently issued reports of the Census Bureau of the United States upon the growth of electric tramways serve to emphasize in a very specific manner the points thus made. At the present time there are 22,577 miles of electric railway in the United States, operated by 987 companies, with a par value of capital stock and outstanding funded debt amounting to about $2,300,000,000. The industrial side of this great business

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appears from the fact that employment is given to 133,641 wage earners, while the social effect is seen in the statement that the number of passengers transported in a year is nearly 5,900,000,000. Apart from the great electrical industries which find in the traction companies their chief customers, it is a matter of engineering interest to note that the operation of these tramways involved the development of 1,298,000 steam horse-power, and 49,000 hydraulic horse-power. When it is considered that this immense amount of power involves boilers, engines, pumps, and a host of auxiliary machinery and appliances, it will be realized to what an extent applied science has entered the daily lives of nearly every one. Practically all of this industry has been developed during the last decade, and it represents the creation of new values, new machinery, new buildings, and new wealth, entirely from the application of scientific principles and methods to the problem of local transport — one of the services which the engineer has rendered to the community of which he forms a part.

Another example of the manner in which the electric transmission of power has transformed a branch of industry is seen in the extent to which electrical machinery is replacing hydraulic power, especially in the equipment of docks, warehouses, and similar applications. Ever since the late Lord Armstrong perfected his hydraulic cranes and hoists, and demonstrated their remarkable applicability to port and harbor service, the installation of such machinery has extended, and numerous improvements have followed, so that this, at any rate, seemed a department of power transmission and application least likely to be radically modified. At a recent conference of the Institution of Civil Engineers in London, however, it was made evident that the greater flexibility and convenience of electric power-transmission is enabling it to invade even this stronghold, and that, in spite of the prestige and extent of the hydraulic equipment of the docks and harbors of Europe, the newer system is ousting the older. The change has appeared first in the Continental ports. At Hamburg, Bremen, Rotterdam, Naples, Genoa, and elsewhere, the transformation from hydraulic to electric power is seen. In England, the conservatism of owners and builders has operated to retard the change; but there, too, it is only a matter of time. In this connection, the fact that electric plants must be introduced for the purpose of lighting the works, aids the application of electric power, since the one generating station can well provide for both services. With abundant artificial light and an ample supply of readily transmitted power, it is altogether possible to undertake the continuous operation of harbor

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work, and thus increase the facilities of a port, while at the same time reducing the proportionate capital charges.

An allied application of electric power to which attention has been especially given of late, is that for the hauling of canal boats. Animal traction has been almost altogether superseded by electricity on tramways; but for various reasons the horse and the mule still remain in active service on the towpath. There has been held recently in Germany a prize competition for mechanical canal haulage systems, the investigation being in the hands of a government commission; and a number of trials have been held in connection with the completion of the Teltow canal, connecting the Havel and the Spree, near Berlin. The most satisfactory results appear to have been attained by a sort of single-rail locomotive system, the motor taking its current from overhead wires, and hauling the canal-boats by a tow line in the ordinary fashion. While it is not yet settled that this plan, or any submitted, can compete with animal power from the point of economy, there is reason to believe that the question will be fully tested from every practical side.

Another form of mono-rail road, and one which has been the subject of much discussion and dispute, is the so-called Behr railway, now about to be built between Liverpool and Manchester. It is expected that when this road is in operation trains will be regularly run at a speed of 110 miles an hour, the time between the two cities being reduced to twenty minutes. The success which may be attained with this road will doubtless influence the erection of similar structures elsewhere, since it offers a solution of the problem of providing an extremely high-speed express service, without interfering with existing local trains. It would be altogether practicable for the present railways to construct special mono-rail lines alongside of the existing tracks, and thus permit the express trains to be run through quite independently of the ordinary service. This plan might also enable the use of electric power to be gradually introduced without the general dislocation of existing appliances, which is assumed to be impending in case the present numerous travelling steam-power houses are replaced by fewer and larger stationary ones.

The progress which has been made in the distribution of power from central stations has revived interest in the development of hydraulic power, as the numerous great hydro-electric power stations demonstrate. A natural consequence of this fact is seen in the systematic manner in which the hydraulic resources of various districts are

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being investigated. In France, the power possibilities of the Alps have been officially examined, and similar studies have been made in Italy. In the United States the question has been left more to private initiative, although the reports of the Geological Survey contain valuable information. A recent investigation of the hydraulic power resources of the Bavarian Alps, made by Herr von Miller, is an excellent instance of the scientific manner in which such researches are now conducted. The whole northern watershed of the Bavarian Alps, draining into the Rhine and the Danube, has been studied in connection with the topography of the country; and the total amount of power available has been determined by summing up the possibilities of the various districts. In this way it has been shown that there is available in Bavaria alone nearly two million horse-power, of which at least 700,000 horse-power is readily available. In view of the great commercial value of a continuous supply of power, such investigations of the natural resources of a country are to be encouraged, as forming a record of national wealth similar in many respects to records of mineral or agricultural riches.

One of the consequences of the formation of the International Mercantile Marine Company, and the passing of the control of important British steamship lines into other hands, has been the subsidizing of the Cunard line by the British Government to the extent of furnishing funds for the construction and operation of two new high-speed liners. Primarily these boats are intended to enable the British-owned line to compete with its American and German rivals by reason of the superior speed and comfort of the new vessels. In addition to this patriotic purpose, however, they will provide the Government with two high-speed cruisers in time of war, and incidentally will enable the mails to be carried as swiftly and promptly under the British flag as they now are under the German. The agreement between the Government and the Cunard Steamship Company provides that the sum of £2,600,000 is to be furnished to the latter at $2\frac{3}{4}$ per cent interest, this money to be expended in the construction of the vessels. A subsidy of £150,000 is to be paid yearly for the purpose of assisting in the operation of the boats. This subsidy is conditional upon the maintenance by the ships of a minimum average speed of $24\frac{1}{2}$ knots in moderate weather. If this is not maintained, a portion only of the subsidy is to be paid, unless the speed falls below $23\frac{1}{2}$ knots, in which case the fate of the vessels may be determined by arbitration.

When it is understood that the fastest vessels now sailing under the

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British flag — the "Campania" and the "Lucania" — make only about 22 knots, while the fastest German vessels are operated at 23 to 23½ knots, the magnitude of the undertaking will be seen. Roughly speaking, the power, and consequently the coal consumption, of two steamships of about equal size varies with the cube of the speed. That is, to drive a vessel at double a given speed would require eight times the power, and to treble the speed would demand twenty-seven times the power. As it is proposed, however, to make the vessels still larger than any which have yet been built, the question of powering offers a number of problems which can only be solved by extending beyond the limits for which they were computed the principles now employed. While the details of the vessels have already been partly worked out, the places where they are to be built have not yet been announced. Their construction, however, will attract more than usual interest, not only because of the importance and magnitude of the work, but also because they mark the reëntrance of England into the contest for the speed record of the Atlantic; thus putting the German ship-builders and steamship lines upon their mettle to retain the prestige which they have been permitted to gain.

The question of ship-building is tied closely to another important engineering problem, which has not been as fully appreciated as its importance demands. There is no question as to the great value of large ships, as regards both the comfort and convenience of the passengers and economy in transporting cargo. At the same time, the limits of the ship-builders in constructing larger and more powerful vessels have been by no means reached. The present limitations are found in the harbors, in the depths of channels, and in the capacity of graving docks. Even at the present time the larger vessels are obliged to regulate their departures from such a port as New York by the state of the tide, and groundings upon the mud banks are by no means infrequent. The demands of commerce must be met not only by the building of larger vessels, but also by the deepening and widening of channels and harbor entrances. The older methods of deepening channels are still followed to too great an extent and the employment of dredging machinery to dig out mud which the existing conditions are certain to replace cannot be regarded as evidence of foresight or of good judgment. In some recent instances, however, an intelligent study of the manner in which the currents of water themselves act in shoaling and in scouring will reveal methods of directing these natural forces to produce, and also maintain, satisfactory depths at the desired points. By the construction

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of a suitable curved jetty, so placed as to train the force of the tidal currents against its concave face, the natural scour of the water has been in some cases successfully applied to produce and maintain a deep channel. The success of this plan at Aransas Pass, Texas, and at Cumberland Sound, Florida, appears to show that this method of harnessing natural forces to accomplish a most important purpose has been satisfactorily worked out.

Mention has already been made, in these reviews of current technical progress, of the use of acetylene gas instead of hydrogen in connection with oxygen in a blowpipe, for the production of extremely high temperatures in the arts. The process, from its simplicity and convenience, is attracting attention on both sides of the Atlantic. The desirability of providing a convenient portable supply of acetylene for use with this apparatus has revived the method of Claude and Hess for dissolving acetylene gas in acetone. The dangers of operating with acetylene which has been liquefied by pressure are well known, and this method of carrying the gas has been practically abandoned. The experiments of Claude and Hess have shown, however, that liquid acetone is capable, at ordinary pressures, of dissolving twenty-four times its own volume of acetylene, while under higher pressures the quantity dissolved is proportionally increased. Since acetone is an exothermic substance, while acetylene is endothermic, these two properties counterbalance each other, and the solution remains endothermic, or inexplosive. The difference between liquid acetylene and acetylene thus dissolved may be gathered by comparison with liquid carbonic-acid and the carbonic-acid gas dissolved in the so-called soda-water as bottled for drinking purposes. There are now to be had in France steel tubes containing fragments of porous material saturated with acetone charged with acetylene. These reservoirs may be used most conveniently in connection with cylinders of compressed oxygen, for the production of the oxy-acetylene blowpipe flame. Later experience of the use of the acetylene blowpipe for welding iron plates has shown the process to be most successful; the tests indicating the welded joint to be fully as strong as the original portions of the solid plate.

The utilization of waste products is usually supposed to be limited to those substantial materials which can be extracted and delivered as concrete articles of merchandise, such, for example, as the beautiful dyestuffs which have been made from coal tar. There are, however, other waste products, which, although not directly visible to the eye, at

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the same time possess a distinct market value, and are well worth saving and selling. Among these may be noted, in passing, the gases discharged from blast furnaces and from coke ovens, these being capable of use in properly-designed engines to produce ample power for operating the machinery of the works, as well as for the generation of electricity for illuminating purposes.

Another very effective method of utilizing a waste product is seen in the distribution of heat from central electric stations. In the great majority of cases such stations are so situated that they cannot get a sufficient supply of water for condensing purposes. Hence the engines have to be worked non-condensing, the exhaust steam being discharged at atmospheric pressure and temperature. A large amount of heat is thus carried off without rendering adequate return for its cost. There is also always an excess of heat carried off with the waste gases from the boilers, so that the energy available for utilization in this form is sufficient to be worth saving. By using this heat to raise the temperature of a body of water, and then causing the hot water to circulate through a properly arranged piping system, a central heating plant can be operated in connection with the electric station, and both light and heat can be supplied to customers. Experiments with such central heating plants have shown that nearly as much income can be realized from the sale of the heat as from the light, while the production of this additional source of revenue involves the combustion of no more fuel than is demanded for the production of the light alone.

A new application of electricity, and one which is interesting from its very originality, is seen in a process for detecting and determining the dilution of wines with water. It is a well-known trick of the trade to add to certain wines as much water as they will stand; and the difficulty of proving the adulteration, with the cost of the necessary chemical analysis to determine the percentage of water which has been added, renders this trade deception a difficult matter for the authorities to handle. In a recent communication to the French Academy, M. Maneuvrier describes a method of measuring the extent of adulteration by the electrical conductivity, or rather by the resistance. Experiments have shown that the resistance offered by a given wine in its natural state to the passage of an electric current is very nearly constant, while this resistance is very greatly increased by the addition of water. It is, therefore, only necessary to compare the electrical resistance of a suspected sample with one of known purity to determine the question

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at once. By comparing a number of specimens to which known percentages of water have been added, it is possible to construct a curve of resistances which will make possible an immediate quantitative determination of the amount of water which has been added.

From the testing of the purity of wines to the destruction of the germs of disease is somewhat of a leap in considering the work of the engineer; but it serves only to show the increasing scope of that work. The use of steam to sterilize infected clothing and materials has been tried repeatedly, and usually success has attended the attempts; but there are certain features about the use of steam for this purpose which until recently have been but imperfectly understood. Assuming, quite correctly, that the sterilizing effect of steam was due to the heat, it has been supposed that the greater heat carried by superheated steam would render it more effective for this purpose than saturated steam, such as is supplied by an ordinary steam boiler. Experience, however, has shown that the best results are attained when the steam is slightly moist, and that superheated steam, in spite of its higher temperature, is not so effective. The recent experiments made at the Government institute at Hamburg have shown that the saturated steam penetrates more thoroughly into the pores and interstices of the fabrics to be treated than is possible either with highly heated dry air or with superheated steam. It appears that the penetrating power of the steam is assisted by the partial condensation of the first portion which enters the interstices of the materials; this aiding in the removal of the entrapped air, and permitting the subsequent flow of steam to come into intimate contact with every portion of the infected articles. It has been fully demonstrated that such articles as bedding, blankets, heavy clothing, and the like, may be completely sterilized and disinfected by exposure in a closed chamber to a current of saturated steam for a period of about thirty minutes. Various convenient forms of sterilizing chambers have been designed for conducting the operations rapidly and effectively on a large scale; and the importance of the subject is leading governments and bodies having control of large numbers of men to consider this as an important detail in the work of the sanitary engineer.

Among the gradual developments which show the increasing connection of engineering with the affairs of every-day life may be noticed the mechanical features of the modern great department store. A certain department store in Chicago contains in its equipment no fewer than

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fifty-three elevators, forty-one of which are for passenger service. These are operated by electricity, a 35-horse-power motor being used in each case. Additional motors are employed for driving pumps, ventilating fans, refrigerating machines, cash carriers, etc., so that in all there is nearly 3,000-horse-power of electric motors installed. In addition to the current required for these motors, sufficient is taken to operate 35,000 incandescent lamps of 16-candle power, and 500 arc lamps of 2,000-candle power each. A private telephone exchange, independent water-works, an automatic sprinkler plant, and a refrigerating plant — all these go to make up what would form a respectable engineering equipment for a moderate-sized city.

The question of the consumption of timber for railway cross-ties is a matter which has long been considered. Many plans have been projected to increase the life of wooden ties and to provide acceptable substitutes for timber. Steel ties of various designs have been made, and some of these have been found very satisfactory in service; but, in the great majority of cases, the cost has prevented their use. In South Africa the white ants have been found so destructive to wooden ties that steel has been necessarily adopted; but in other parts of the world the use of wood is still very general. The latest substitute which has been suggested, and one which offers several elements of advantage, is reinforced concrete. By making the ties in the form of concrete beams, reinforced by embedding in them pieces of old rails, a substance having the necessary combination of elasticity and strength is produced, together with freedom from decay. The cost of such ties is a matter which can only be determined when they are manufactured upon a large scale and are extensively introduced; but, in view of the success which has attended the use of deep girder rails embedded in concrete, to meet the exacting demands of heavy trolley service, it seems as if a similar construction should serve well for steam railway lines.

Improvements in engineering work sometimes come in response to demands caused by great disasters. Water-tight compartments have been provided on steamships in consequence of disasters by the collision of vessels at sea, and it was to reduce the great mortality by gas explosions in mines that the safety lamp was designed. The deplorable loss of life by the fire in the Paris *Metropolitain* was the result of a combination of circumstances which may not occur again; but the direct result will undoubtedly be the production and adoption of devices which shall render dangerous fires impossible in subways. Underground railways

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have become necessities in great cities; and London, Paris, and New York are too fully committed to them for any change of policy to be practicable even if it were possible. It is, therefore, demanded of the engineer that he make such tunnels absolutely safe, and there is evidence that this task will be completely and practically accomplished. Naturally, the entire separation of the lighting service from the current supply to the train motors must be made, and, indeed, this is already a feature of the construction in New York. This, however, is a secondary matter. The primary requisite is the absence of combustibles, of material which can burn, or which can smoulder and smoke and cause suffocation. This last feature is one which must be taken into account in considering plans for the use of non-flammable wood, slow-burning construction, and the like, for cars and for station structures. The eighty-four lives which were lost in the Paris disaster were taken by suffocation due to smoke, and anything which can produce smoke must be rejected if absolute safety is to be assured. The cars should be made wholly of steel — a construction already common for freight cars, and admitted to be economical and desirable — while the interior fittings may be effectively and satisfactorily made of asbestos, leather, and similar incombustible materials. Platforms should be of concrete, and buildings of metal and reinforced concrete. There is, thus, no reason why all combustible materials should not be wholly excluded. It is possible that some of these precautions may be objected to on account of cost; but the falling off in traffic on Paris *Metropolitain* after the fire must be considered if such a matter is to be brought up at all.

A rather daring experiment was recently tried in France to ascertain the effect of projectile shocks upon the electric and other machinery of the turrets of a modern battleship. Briefly, the experiment consisted in firing a "live" 12-inch shell against the armor protection of a battleship, while the crew were on board and the full equipment was in place. This trial took place at Brest, early in August last; the vessel under test being the "Suffren," one of the latest and most powerful battleships of the French navy, and the shot being fired from the battleship "Masséna," at the short range of 200 yards. As there was no intention of testing the actual armor plate of the turrets of the "Suffren," the shell was fired at a special target made of a piece of armor plate riveted to the turret in such a manner that the two formed one rigid mass of metal; thus permitting the shock of the explosion of the shell to be transmitted to the turret mechanism which it was desired to test.

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Reports which have been officially made public show that no damage was done either to the armor or the mechanism of the "Suffren." Some live sheep which were placed in the turret were found to be uninjured, and, after the shots had been fired, the electrical machinery was tried and found to operate smoothly and satisfactorily. These tests were made for the purpose of determining the practicability of substituting electrical machinery for the usual hydraulic appliances for working the turrets, and there is no doubt that the result of the trials will be the confirmation of the policy of the French Marine of using electric power for the turret machinery as well as for the ammunition hoists and other accessory appliances. There were no casualties on board, and, indeed, no casualty was expected; but at the same time experiments of this sort are coming as close to the actualities of warfare as seems practicable.

Stimulated, doubtless, by the general success which is attending the commercial development of telegraphy through space, there has appeared a renewed interest in the possibilities of the selenium cell in connection with telephonic communication without wires. The peculiar property of selenium by which its electrical resistance is affected by the action of light has been known for a number of years; but the recent experiments of Ruhmer in applying the principle to wireless telephony are attracting attention. By using the so-called "speaking arc" of Simon and Duddell, in which a telephone transmitter is placed in the circuit of an arc lamp, the changes in light values caused by the articulation in the transmitter are caused to act upon a selenium cell, and the latter promptly responds. By using parabolic mirrors to direct and conserve the rays, the light vibrations have been successfully sent over distances of about ten miles, and articulate speech has been distinctly transmitted. In this apparatus the changes of current in the transmitting arc circuit are converted into varying light values; and these, falling upon the selenium cell, produce corresponding variations in its electrical resistance, which variations produce changes in a local circuit of which the selenium cell and the receiving telephone form parts. The range of such a system is naturally limited to the distance through which the light rays can be transmitted, but it is already much greater than was at first thought possible; and, as has been already stated, the later experiments of Ruhmer have shown that distinct articulate messages can be received at distances of about ten miles.

HENRY HARRISON SUPLEE.

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LITERATURE: THE MAKING AND RE-MAKING OF NATIONS.

WHEN the impartiality of an individual is doubted, our usual refuge is in the appointment of a committee. The authors of "THE CAMBRIDGE MODERN HISTORY: Vol. 7, The United States,"[1] may be described, in a sense, as a Committee of Thirteen. It is true that the book is not a majority report, thrashed out in debate; but, by presenting side by side the varying opinions of equally competent experts, it sets before the reader a composite picture probably more clearly representative of the truth than would have been any delineation by a single hand. For, in matters of history, the attitude of the historian itself becomes part of the data. To a foreign inquirer about the relations of North and South, for instance, it is important to know not only the facts of the struggle for the Union, but also the views which Northern and Southern historians, respectively, hold of that struggle to-day. And though there must necessarily be some sacrifice of literary effectiveness when writers of a pedestrian manner as well as of brilliant style are drawn upon for contributions, a book thus composed is everywhere kept alive by its internal divergences. Even dull talkers become interesting as soon as they begin to argue.

The catholicity of the late Lord Acton and his successors in the control of this great publication is evident in this, that, in spite of its title, only four of the thirteen contributors to the present volume are British, and only two — Miss Mary Bateson and Mr. A. G. Bradley — can be claimed by Cambridge. This is the more significant when we remember that the book, though the laws of copyright compelled its printing on this side of the Atlantic, is mainly intended for British readers, and will be accepted by them for many years to come as the standard history of America. American histories of the United States have, as a rule, made little appeal in England except to special students, for they have been planned on too large a scale and have been too fully occupied with details of purely domestic interest. The American con-

[1] Macmillan.

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tributors to the "Cambridge Modern History" have thus had a rare opportunity of instructing and influencing the public mind of Great Britain with respect to the past development of their own country, and thus of laying a foundation for a just understanding of its present condition. They have discharged this difficult function of interpretation with remarkable success. Very rarely — as when we are told that under Lincoln "the American Government attained full perfection in its twin ideals of union and liberty"—is the scream of the eagle heard. Their sober and dignified exposition of the growth of the United States during the nineteenth century will produce abroad a much deeper impression of her attainment and possibilities than would have been made by such vociferous self-assertion as is habitual in a certain section of the press.

This volume does not begin with Columbus, for it was Lord Acton's principle of arrangement that the history of each people should be taken up at the point at which it was drawn into the main stream of human progress, as represented by the European nations. Accordingly, the foundation of the colony of Virginia is taken as the starting-point. Chapters on "The First Century of English Colonization" and "The English Colonies," by Mr. J. A. Doyle, are followed by "The French in America," by Miss Mary Bateson, and "The Conquest of Canada," by Mr. A. G. Bradley. Miss Bateson's contrast between the French and the British colonizing methods is particularly valuable. She is as warmly appreciative of the merits of the French system as a Parisian writer could be. Mr. Bradley's explanation of the failure of the British commanders in some of the campaigns against the French would provide edifying parallels if set by the side of the blue-books of the Royal Commission on the South African War.

The following chapters bring us to the period of greatest interest to the constituency which the Cambridge Modern History will especially reach. Mr. Doyle writes on "The Quarrel with Great Britain (1761–1776)," Prof. Melville M. Bigelow on "The Declaration of Independence," Mr. Doyle on "The War of Independence (1776–1783)," Prof. Bigelow on "The Constitution (1776–1789)," Prof. J. B. McMaster on "The Struggle for Commercial Independence (1783–1812)," and Mr. H. W. Wilson, an expert in military and naval history, on "The War of 1812–1815." The result of this combination of authorities is to show the immense difficulty of agreement upon controversial topics dating even as far back as a century ago. No one can read these chapters without feeling that both the English and the American writers are absolutely honest-minded and free from any conscious bias. Yet they

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produce very different impressions by their versions of the same series of events. Mr. Doyle, while far from supporting the British Government — he speaks, for instance, of its "ignorance and misjudgment" and of its "harsh and unintelligent policy" — declares in the plainest terms that the colonists were not "loyal subjects goaded into rebellion by persistent ill-treatment." In his judgment, the treatment of Lord North's proposals by the second Continental Congress "is an effective answer to those who speak of the colonists as loyal and submissive subjects, goaded into rebellion by a ministry who turned a deaf ear to every reasonable complaint." The reply drafted by Jefferson on that occasion was "a rhetorical onslaught on the British Government, calculated to fill with despair any one who had any real desire for compromise and peace."

The English historian is no less pronounced in his criticism of the Declaration of Independence. Its statement of the wrongs which the colonists had suffered from their sovereign would not be accepted, he says, by any one now as a fair historical account of what had happened. "Of the eighteen heads of indictment, each beginning 'he has,' there is hardly one which does not demand some modification or admit of some palliative." This is immediately followed by thirty-five pages in which Prof. Bigelow expounds and enforces the case which was summarized in this same document — the text of which, as also of the Constitution, ought surely to have been published in an appendix — coming to such conclusions that one might easily suppose him to be referring to an entirely different state of affairs from that just recounted by Mr. Doyle. To make the perplexity of the inquiring student greater, one finds later in the book, in Prof. Barrett Wendell's chapter on "The American Intellect," an American writer supporting Mr. Doyle and declaring that "there was no tyranny on the part of Great Britain so galling as to account for the passionate revolt of America or to justify the blatant traditions of Fourth of July oratory."

The foreign reader will be not a little perplexed by this conflict of authority. But he will obtain a clew by remembering that Prof. Bigelow is writing as a constitutional lawyer rather than as an historian. When such an event as the Revolution is considered from a legal point of view, stress is naturally laid upon the occasions rather than the causes of the separation. The examination of charters, acts of Parliament, etc., cannot, of course, be neglected in a complete study of the period; but one must go far deeper before the conflict becomes intelligibile. The more properly historical section of this book contributes the necessary light, and shows that the popular view of the Revolution, in England

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as well as in America, is much too superficial. It is commonly believed that the United States might still have been a part of the British Empire but for certain actions of George III and Lord North, and that the actual separation was caused by a quarrel in which it is necessary to suppose that one party must have been in the right and the other in the wrong. Actually, the Americans broke off from the British Government not because of the passing of the Bill for the relief of the East India Company, but because time and circumstance had brought about a divergence of national character which made it impossible for the two peoples to live together any longer in harmony. As Mr. Doyle truly says:

> Almost from the hour of their foundation the colonies had been developing not only political methods, but political ideals, different from those of the mother-country. The material interests which bound them to Great Britain were real, but they were too indirect and remote to appeal readily to ordinary men.

Prof. Wendell also goes to the heart of the matter when he explains what he calls "this stupendous imperial disruption" in the following words:

> Each country, in brief, had its own political traditions; and those of each were consecrated by customs which extended far beyond the range of human memory. Furthermore, the mutual misunderstandings bound to arise from such divergences were emphasized by the growing differences of national temper, due to the fact that, in general character, America had changed so little, while England had changed so much, since the early days of colonial settlement.

Whatever we may think of Mr. Wendell's specific explanation of this incompatibility, the fact that it existed gives the key to the Revolution. If we turn to the Declaration of Independence we find this theory immediately strengthened, for the Rousseauism of the preamble is as un-English as anything could well be. Many of the doctrines therein set forth would be accepted as readily by an Englishman as by an American; but the manner of their presentation, and, indeed, the very idea of prefacing the statement of a political platform by a series of philosophical generalities, are entirely alien to the English temperament.

So far, then, as the separation between England and America affords any guidance to the politician of the present day, it suggests that allegiance to the home authority is certain sooner or later to be found an irksome bond by a colony which is several thousand miles distant from the seat of government, and in which the very conditions of exploiting a new country tend to develop a type of character varying from inherited traits

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and impatient of traditional methods. It further conveys the warning that no other political problems are so likely to make the colonists aware of this divergence and to transform it into open disaffection as those concerned with imperial trade and taxation. Accordingly, the first task which the Imperial Federationists of these days have to accomplish is that of preventing the young South African or Australian from being moulded by the life of the veldt or of the bush. When that has been done, it may, perhaps, be safe, provided the utmost caution is used, to talk of preferential tariffs and contributions to the defence of the empire.

When the story of the War of 1812–1815 is completed, we are only for a short time free from controverted questions. As Prof. J. B. McMaster describes the growth of the nation, we are not allowed to overlook the simultaneous increase in the intensity of the slavery difficulty. This brings us to a chapter on "State Rights," by Dr. Woodrow Wilson, President of Princeton University. No section of the book is of greater value. As an example of his helpful generalizations, one may quote what Dr. Wilson says of the influence of slavery upon the leadership of the South:

> She had men of leisure because she had slaves; and nowhere else in the country was there a ruling class like hers. Where men are masters, they are likely to be statesmen, to have an outlook upon affairs and an instinct and habit of leadership. Privilege and undisputed social eminence beget in them a pride, which is not wholly private, a pride which makes of them a planning and governing order. It was this advantage of always knowing her leaders, and of keeping them always thus in a school of privilege and authority, that had given the South from the first her marked preëminence in affairs. Her statesmen had led the nation in the era of the Revolution. The Union seemed largely of her making.

It is to be noted that of the Webster-Hayne debate Dr. Wilson says that, though Webster was the better statesman, Hayne was the better historian.

The great topic of "The Civil War" was intrusted to the late John G. Nicolay, whose three chapters on it amount to a hundred pages, or about one-eighth of the whole book. The naval operations of the war are discussed by Mr. H. W. Wilson. It may seem a matter for regret that the main story of the conflict should have been placed in the hands of a writer so closely associated with one side. But what competent authority could the editors have found who would have been absolutely non-partisan? It would obviously have been impracticable to commission two writers, for the reader would have been wearied by a description of the campaign twice over from different angles. And it must

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not be overlooked that the State Rights controversy, being handled by a Virginian, gives readers an intelligent appreciation of the Southern view of the questions which provoked the war. Yet it seems a pity that certain gaps in the narrative of the campaign could not be filled in. Somehow it is not quite evident from Mr. Nicolay's account why it took the Union forces such a long time to overcome the rebellion, and particularly why Lee gave the Northern generals so much trouble. Possibly a Southern historian might have made this clearer. The story of the war itself is supplemented by interesting chapters on "The North during the War," by John G. Nicolay, and on "The South during the War," by Prof. J. C. Schwab, of Yale. Then come chapters on "Political Reconstruction," by Prof. T. C. Smith, "The United States as a World Power," by Prof. J. B. Moore, and "Economic Development of the United States," by Prof. H. C. Emery. These discuss difficult subjects with great skill, and deserve the most careful study. Prof. Smith's paper is especially commendable for its clear and illuminating account of a most confused period.

The final chapter is contributed by Prof. Barrett Wendell on "The American Intellect." No other in the book suffers so much from limitations of space. What can be done with one page for architecture and half a page for science? The general conclusions of this section will be already familiar to readers of Prof. Wendell's Literary History of America. As has already been mentioned, he has not yet recanted, in spite of adverse criticism, his favorite formulas that "Seventeenth-century American = Sixteenth-century Englishman," "Eighteenth-century American = Seventeenth-century Englishman," etc. Such equations are unpopular; but Prof. Wendell may, perhaps, be comforted by remembering, as Prof. McMaster reminds us, that George Washington himself was once accused of being anti-Republican and pro-British. One of the most striking passages in the whole chapter, and indeed in the whole book, is Prof. Wendell's concluding emphasis on American enthusiasm for education. He notes particularly the expenditure of vast sums on the building of schools, universities, and libraries, and the zeal shown by the hundreds of public-school teachers who two years ago crowded into the transports which were to carry them to Manila. "In short," he says, "the nation that we are trying to understand is a nation whose most prominent characteristic at this moment is its superstitious devotion to education." The last few weeks have afforded a conspicuous confirmation of his judgment, for we have seen plans being drawn up for a $500,000 building to house a School of Journalism before ever its

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programme of study has been laid out — in fact, before it has been seriously considered whether such a school, ranking with other professional schools, is even possible. And when Prof. Wendell declares that education, which elsewhere "has generally been a matter either of tradition or else of alertly intelligent reform," tends in America to become "a matter of unintelligent formalism," he may illustrate his generalization by pointing out that most of the teachers who went to the Philippines are eager to return at the first opportunity, and that the Government is at its wits' end to supply their places.

The Cambridge Modern History treats with considerable fulness the institution of the American form of government; Prof. Bigelow's chapters in particular showing the genesis and growth of such ideas as were formally embodied in the Constitution. As to the working of American political conceptions in later years, light is given only incidentally by such illustrations as happen to be supplied in the narrative of events. This gap is admirably filled by Prof. A. B. Hart's contribution to the American Citizen Series under the title of "ACTUAL GOVERNMENT: AS APPLIED UNDER AMERICAN CONDITIONS."[1] For American and English students alike it will serve excellently as a companion volume to the work just noticed. In range and treatment it naturally suggests comparisons with Mr. Bryce's "American Commonwealth," over which it has at least the two advantages that it does not make so great a tax upon the time of busy readers, and that it recognizes the many important changes of the last ten years. It even notes so recent an event as the creation of a general staff at the War Department. Prof. Hart is conspicuously successful in the difficult task of writing lucid and interesting summaries. He can condense into a page or two the arguments for and against some particular proposal without omitting any important ingredient and at the same time without making a tasteless pemmican of the result.

He prefaces his own study with a useful bibliography of the general question. Each chapter, as a rule, contains, first, a special bibliography; next, an historical outline of the development of the present method; and, lastly, an account of the actual present-day working of that method. Fundamental ideals in American Government are first discussed, with the attempts to express them in the use of the suffrage and the party system. State, local, and national governments in action are successively considered; and the rest of the book is concerned with

[1] Longmans.

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the territorial, financial, and commercial functions of the Government, as well as its foreign relations and its connection with education, religion, and public order.

The section dealing with elections and party organizations contains a masterly description of "the boss." The scholarly moderation of Prof. Hart shows itself in his attitude to this phenomenon, who is studied as dispassionately as though he were a newly discovered zoological specimen. In this way, without prejudice, we reach a common account of the whole species, though "some bosses have been religious men, some unconvicted murderers." The great objection to the boss is "that he makes out of politics, which is a means of serving public interest, a private and almost a commercial enterprise; and that thereby he is demoralizing the public service." It is a pity that Prof. Hart lends his authority to a perpetuation of the misleading use of the term "Australian ballot" for the ballots used in American elections. The sample he gives opposite p. 74 — a copy of the voting paper used at the last presidential election — is no more like an Australian ballot than a coyote is like a kangaroo. It is an essential feature of the Australian system, which has been in exercise in England also for a generation, that the names of candidates shall appear on the ballot paper in alphabetical order, without the slightest indication of their political color. This system, it will be seen, does not put a premium, as in the case of that now employed in America, upon the voting of a straight ticket.

To obtain an exact and clear idea of the relation of the States to the Union is one of the most difficult problems for the political student, partly because the condition is exceptional, and partly because it is constantly changing. The situation since early days has been greatly affected by the improvements in communication, which have cut at the root of the old attachment to one particular commonwealth. In one of the autobiographies in the current "Congressional Directory" a certain senator declares himself to have been born in Tennessee and to have "emigrated" to Alabama. But this "emigration" took place seventy years ago. Nowadays it would need an especially vivid imagination to see expatriation in such a change of residence. It would have been helpful if Prof. Hart had said something of the attachment to a section which seems to have taken the place of the old-fashioned attachment to a State. There is now a solidarity in certain groups of States which is of sufficient political importance to demand careful treatment. As to the future relation of States and nation, Prof. Hart declares that "consolidation of the Union would be almost as great a misfortune as dis-

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union." That may be so, but he certainly minimizes those difficulties which emphasize the necessity of greater federal control. There is, for instance, the fact that while a particular State may not declare war, it may take a course which affects foreign powers in such a way as to render war inevitable. The friction and wastefulness, from a business point of view, caused by the divergences between the laws of various States will sooner or later cause a movement toward greater unity.

Prof. Hart makes the processes of law-making at Washington easily intelligible in his section on "National Government in Action." This section is so very good that one regrets it was not made a little better. A student who came fresh to the subject would not be likely to obtain from this account a correct impression of the relative importance of the Senate and the House of Representatives. It is not only that more space is given to the House, but that no suggestion is made of the decreasing influence of that body and the growth in power of the Senate. Note should have been taken of the effect upon national government of the slow method of renewing the *personnel* of the Senate, which may make it still Republican when the country has become Democratic; of the authority which a Senator's share in patronage gives him over the Representatives from his own State; of that fearful engine for getting one's own Senatorial way against which Mr. Cannon protested so vehemently at the close of the last session; and of that confession of weakness now sometimes made by the House in letting through a measure which it does not want in the assurance that it will be thrown out at the other end of the Capitol.

As to the President, Prof. Hart, while describing his relation to Congress, does not tell us enough of his relation to his party in general. He says of the President that, having four years to carry out his policy, he is "therefore less subject than the English Prime Minister to temporary currents of public prejudice, and he is not obliged to make concessions in order to remain in office." Prof. Hart forgets that an English Prime Minister may be in power as long as seven consecutive years; that during that period he may choose any moment that seems to him most favorable for seeking a renewal of the country's confidence; and that he has not to trouble in the least about appointments to offices as affecting his chances of becoming Prime Minister for a second time.

It is not possible, nor would it be desirable, to write a book of this kind without being critical as well as expository. Accordingly, Prof. Hart does not hesitate to point out defects and suggest improvements in the present condition of things, whether in finance or education, in

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military administration or the collection of taxes. In a few concise and pungent paragraphs he states, with a directness such as would amaze the facing-both-ways politician, the difficulties that have been created by the great extension of the territory of the United States since 1898. It cannot, then, be any fear of outspokenness that causes him to gloss over the vital question of the written Constitution. He says so little about it that one might be pardoned for inferring that he thinks it really insignificant as a factor in American affairs. It is, of course, unlikely that this is actually his intentional verdict. But there are many phases of the question that should have been considered in such a study, particularly the growing belief, expressed by Mr. Dooley, that "the Constitution follows the election returns." Some time ago Prof. D. H. Pingrey, writing in these pages, brought forward a number of instances to support his affirmation of "The Decadence of our Constitution."[1] Such evidences should have been estimated in any account of the actual working of Government. The part that has been played, and is now being played, in the affairs of this country by its written Constitution is one of great practical importance to Americans themselves, and of exceptional interest to outside students of political science. This problem, unfortunately, Prof. Hart seems to have evaded.

A few minor oversights might deserve attention in another edition. On p. 445, the representation of the United States as firmly seated in the Caribbean Sea and about to set foot on the Isthmus seems to have been suggested by some cartoon in a comic paper. There is an unintentional touch of humor, too, in Prof. Hart's remark that in all its foreign wars the purpose of the United States has been essentially pacific, with the exception of the Mexican War. Why except the Mexican War? And why confine this proud boast to the United States? Could not every war in the history of the world justify itself as having for its "essential" object the ultimate securing of peace?

A glance over the tables of contents of these volumes will enable the most casual reader to understand how great a change has come over the conception of history and politics during the last generation or so. Not very long ago it would have been difficult to find a history of the United States, or for that matter one of any other country, which devoted a whole chapter to its economic development. But in reading Prof. Emery's admirable outline one is convinced that such an exposition is of the very essence of the story: the history of America in general

[1] See THE FORUM for October, 1901.

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would have been unintelligible but for the history of its industrial activity. In some quite surprising ways there has been an intimate connection between business and politics. Eli Whitney's invention of the cotton-gin, for example, "determined the course of Southern development for sixty years to come, and gave a firm economic foundation to the slave system — a remarkable instance of a beneficent invention of the human mind affording the chief reason for the maintenance of an inhuman institution." But there is, indeed, scarcely any section of the book which does not emphasize the same interdependence. Questions of trade are prominent in Mr. Doyle's summary of the colonial and revolutionary periods. Prof. McMaster's account of the period from 1783 to 1812 is headed, "The Struggle for Commercial Independence." The same writer's record of the growth of the nation for the next forty years has much to say of manufactures, banks, railroads, and tariffs. The history of the Civil War concludes with an analysis of the economic causes of the overthrow of the Confederacy. When the normal course of government is resumed, we find the influence of commerce in politics, both national and international, even more direct and dominant. So, too, Prof. Hart cannot discuss "Actual Government" without dealing closely with the business side of American activity. Possibly Mr. Brooks Adams pushes theorizing to an extreme in his attempts to state all political problems in terms of markets; but such publications as these go a long way to support his general contention that markets mean more to the statesman than the statesman himself has commonly supposed.

The attention paid in these volumes to the economic side of history emphasizes the importance of such a book as Prof. R. T. Ely's "STUDIES IN THE EVOLUTION OF INDUSTRIAL SOCIETY."[1] The title is general, but, except in the first few pages, it is American industrial society in particular of which the author treats. The word "evolution" need not frighten away any reader who dislikes philosophical terminology: the book is written in a clear and simple style, and, for a treatise on economics, is exceptionally free from technicalities. A sketch is first given of the various economic stages through which civilization has passed — the hunting and fishing stage, the pastoral stage, the agricultural stage, the handicraft stage, and the industrial stage, which latter has passed, or is passing, through the three phases of universal competition, concentration, and integration. It is not in harmony with the purpose of this article to comment at length on Prof. Ely's discussion of such present-day topics as business competition, trusts, municipal ownership, prop-

[1] Macmillan.

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erty inheritance, and industrial peace. It is enough to say of these chapters that they are both liberal and conservative, in the best sense of those words. His survey of the industrial development of the United States should be read together with Prof. Emery's summary in the Cambridge History. Prof. Emery gives the facts of this development in greater fulness, while Prof. Ely groups his phenomena in generalizations which indicate the ruling tendencies at various periods. From this past history, too, he infers the course that industrial evolution is likely to take in the future — an inference which, of course, brings one into the heart of present controversies.

If there is one lesson taught more clearly than another by the modern study of history, as illustrated by the volumes already reviewed, it is that great events are the product of causes that work slowly — often, indeed, quietly and in secret. The ingenuity of statesmen can do remarkably little, after all, except in directing some tendency that already exists in the popular mind; and even then their plans may entirely come to grief through other and stronger tendencies which they have overlooked. The two greatest events in American history are conspicuous examples of the happening of the unexpected. A few years before the Revolution, how many of those who afterward became Revolutionary leaders — to say nothing of English politicians — either anticipated or desired it? As late as 1766, so Mr. Doyle reminds us, Franklin declared emphatically before the House of Commons that he knew the whole of the colonies, and that no one, "drunk or sober," had ever talked of or contemplated independence. So, too, with the Civil War. How many of the Northerners who leaped to arms in 1861 had any idea that their work would be completed by the passing of the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth Amendments? Looking back at this distance over the whole field, we can see that there were forces in operation which made it inevitable both that the United States should exist as an independent nation, and that it should not exist half free and half slave. In short, "evolution" is the key-word in history as well as in biology.

This lesson is entirely ignored, in spite of his frequent use of the word, by Mr. John R. Dos Passos, who, in his interesting and well-written but futile book, "THE ANGLO-SAXON CENTURY,"[1] comes forward with a cut-and-dried scheme for altering the map of the world. His aim is the promotion of a complete and sympathetic *entente* between England and America — an aim which is wholly admirable, as would be

[1] Putnam.

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that of promoting a similar *entente* between any other two nations. But he is not satisfied with mere peace and good-will. In this book, which is intended to be read by Englishmen and Canadians as well as by Americans, he proposes, as a working scheme, the arrangement of a treaty whose provisions shall include (1) the incorporation of Canada in the United States, (2) the creation of a common Anglo-American citizenship, (3) the establishment of free trade between England and America, with a common coinage, and (4) the provision of an arbitration tribunal. His programme is so utterly impracticable in detail — at this time of day it would be as reasonable to attempt to establish a Tammany club in the moon as to expect the English people to be willing to cede Canada — that it would hardly be worth while to notice it, but for the fact that several favorable comments in the press and the publication of a second edition of the volume within a few weeks of its first issue indicate that this amateur diplomacy is being taken seriously.

There is no reason in the world why England and America should not be, and continue to be, on amicable terms — no reason why the younger country should not learn much from the experience of the older and the older from the experiments of the younger — but the whole trend of events for the last century has been in a direction away from such a close association as Mr. Dos Passos advocates. He brings together evidences of kinship in stock, language, literature, political institutions, modes of legal procedure, religion, etc., and argues that for these reasons "the union of the Anglo-Saxon people is a natural one." What he overlooks is the crucial fact that in each of these respects the kinship between the two countries is far less close to-day than it was a century ago, and that the dissimilarities, not only in details of method and custom, but in the larger matter of temperament and point of view, are becoming greater year by year. Even if one leaves out of the account the immense effect of so large and steady an immigration from Continental Europe, one cannot forget that the American family of English stock has all the time been subject to the influence of an un-English environment, and has accordingly fashioned for itself new ideals and tastes, and even new and independent traditions. The result is that the Englishman of to-day finds the United States more of a foreign country than Mrs. Trollope or Dickens did. For the political problem is really a mathematical one: If two men start from the same point and walk at different angles, when and where will they meet? That the United States "sprang from" England is true; but the important question is: What distance has she sprung?

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It is of no use, then, to try to erect an artificial barrier against national evolution. The attempt to check it or divert it is, indeed, likely to be injurious rather than helpful to the peace of the world; for the proposal of schemes, however well-meaning, that are based on an unhistorical and unphilosophical foundation — and these epithets certainly apply to the assumptions involved in most of the present-day argument about the English-speaking peoples — may be expected to produce friction and irritation rather than to promote good feeling. And irritation will be caused whatever the scheme, whether it is proposed to cede British Columbia to the United States or to cede Alaska to Great Britain.

"America is an example of the excellent results to be obtained from putting new wine into new bottles. India illustrates the risk of putting new wine into old ones." This comparison of the late Sir William Wilson Hunter's in "THE INDIA OF THE QUEEN"[1] suggests at once the infinite difference between the task of building up a new nation on the virgin soil of a new continent and that of refashioning a vast population in "the unchanging East." Here and there in Kipling one has caught a glimpse of what "the white man's burden" has meant. In this volume, consisting of a collection of various lectures and articles, we have a general presentation of the significance of British rule in India, written in popular style by the greatest authority on the history of the Dependency. It leaves the conviction that not only the face of the country, but, in many respects, the very life of the inhabitants has been transformed by the British invasion. There has been going on, says Hunter, the threefold work of conquest, consolidation, and conciliation. The most striking section of the book is that in which an account is given of the positive contribution of the administration to the welfare of the people. The author imagines a Hindu of the eighteenth century revisiting the earth and travelling over his own country. When he had overcome his surprise at the turning of thousands of square miles of jungle into fertile crop-lands, at the covering of fever-smitten swamps by healthy, well-drained cities, at the piercing of the mountains by roads and railways, and at the controlling of great rivers, he would be especially surprised by the general security of life:

> In provinces where every man, from the prince to the peasant, a hundred years ago, went armed, he would look round in vain for a matchlock or a sword. He would find the multitudinous native states of India, which he remembered in jealous isolation broken only by merciless wars, now trading quietly with each other, bound together by railways and roads, by the post and the telegraph. . . . He

[1] Longmans.

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would ask what wealthy prince had reared for himself that spacious palace? He would be answered that the building was no pleasure-house for the rich, but a hospital for the poor. He would inquire, In honor of what deity is this splendid shrine? He would be told that it was no new temple to the gods, but a school for the people. Instead of bristling fortresses, he would see courts of justice; in place of a Muhammedan general in charge of each district, he would find an English magistrate; instead of a swarming soldiery, he would discover a police.

The chapter on "Protection of Person and Property" is an amazing revelation of what has been done to deliver the frontiers from pillage and massacre, the sea-coast from pirates, and the country in general from banditti, from thugs, from famines, and from wild beasts. Less obvious results of British rule may be found in the development of new industries, the growth of great centres of trade, the intellectual renaissance, and the decrease of superstition. It is a great risk that England has faced — the risk of a united India, as contrasted with the divided India which was the policy of the Old East India Company. "The Queen's Government of India," says Sir William, "has preferred the dangers of popular education to the perils of popular ignorance. For the isolated hazards of heterogeneous races it has substituted the calculated risks of a vast coalition of two hundred millions of human beings, whom it is binding together by common interests."

Is it possible, then, after all, to put new wine into old bottles? Has India herself been made over again by the changes imposed upon her by the benevolent administrators from an alien race? Evidently Sir William Hunter himself took an optimistic view. His long and successful experience as an Indian Civil Servant should give great weight to his judgment. His optimism was by no means the mere self-satisfaction of the conventional Anglo-Indian, for one may find in this book such criticisms of governmental methods and pleas for reforms as would make the average official gasp. He was a champion, for example, of many of the political aspirations of that greatest bugbear of the Anglo-Indian, the National Congress. Yet knowing, as few men of his time could, the difficulties of the situation, he deliberately declared: "I am confident that as Englishmen in India mastered the perils of the past, so will they, with God's help, solve the problems of the present."

The article in which this confidence was expressed was written sixteen years ago, in the midst of the enthusiasm of Queen Victoria's Jubilee. Would the writer have been quite as confident to-day? Dr. J. E. C. Welldon, then Bishop of Calcutta, said at Oxford two years ago that he was not so sanguine as some people seemed to

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be about the disposition of the natives of India toward the British Government. "When statesmen and administrators," he continued, "affirmed that our Government was an unqualified success, he could only say that such language filled him with amazement." And there has just been published, with the title of "The Failure of Lord Curzon," a powerful impeachment, by an experienced and successful Indian administrator, not so much of the personal qualities of the present Governor-General in particular as of the whole present régime, which is denounced as having alienated the classes upon whose good-will the stability of British rule depends — namely, the agricultural population, the educated classes, and the native princes. Further, not many years ago Mr. Meredith Townsend, who was not only an influential journalist, as Hutton's colleague for so many years in editing "The Spectator," but an expert in Indian affairs, gave it, as the conclusion of his lifelong study of the whole problem, that, however beneficent British control might have been, its influence had been only superficial and temporary. What do two or three centuries amount to in the life of the immemorial East? Rome troubled her meditation for a brief period, but the interruption was only for a moment.

> The East bowed low before the blast,
> In patient, deep disdain;
> She let the legions thunder past,
> Then plunged in thought again.

Not otherwise, according to Mr. Townsend, may some later writer sum up the story of that great experiment in government which appeals more strongly to the imagination than any other conquest of subject races since the days of Rome herself.

The British administration of India is an object-lesson of what can, and cannot, be accomplished in the imposition, by force of arms, of Western civilization upon an Oriental people. The remaking of Japan, which, though it has been in process for a much shorter time than that of India, has reached a more advanced stage, owes nothing to foreign domination, but much to foreign suggestion and guidance. Foreign gunboats, it is true, figure occasionally in modern Japanese history; but the use of Western methods, appliances, etc., has in the main been adopted without any military or diplomatic pressure from outside. Yet, while in this sense the recent development of the country has been independent and voluntary, there still remains a vast gulf between this type of progress and that of any truly free nationality. For Japan, like

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India, has been transformed by authority, though not, like India, by the authority of an alien invader. In his "EVOLUTION OF THE JAPANESE,"[1] a work based on a long and intimate acquaintance with Japanese life, Mr. Sidney L. Gulick attributes to the national habit of obedience the rapidity with which political and social changes have been accepted. It is really, then, a survival of the feudal system that has made easy the adoption of a kind of civilization generally supposed to be democratic. In Mr. Gulick's own words:

> The Occidentalized order now dominant in Japan was adopted, not by the people, but by the rulers, and imposed by them on the people; these had no idea of resisting the new order, but accepted it loyally as the decision of their emperor, and this spirit of unquestioning obedience to the powers that be is, I am persuaded, one of the causes of the prevalent opinion respecting Japanese imitativeness as well as of the fact itself.

In another part of his book, Mr. Gulick sets the modernizing of Japan over against that of India as an example of a natural evolution, "due absolutely to the free choice of a versatile people." From the passage quoted above it appears, however, that this choice has been so seriously limited that it can scarcely be called voluntary. One is therefore tempted to ask whether this explanation of the rapidity of the country's transformation does not involve a serious risk to the permanence of the new order. A nation that becomes progressive by the fiat of a ruler may as easily become reactionary if the edict is revised. Suppose the next Mikado should be a man of fanatical conservatism, regarding it as a sacred duty to restore the abandoned traditions of his race: where would the habit of obedience lead the people then? Practically, however, the danger is not serious. No doubt, for many years to come there will be brief periods of reaction, as there are in the most liberal of Western nations; but the flowing tide is with the innovators. The modern civilization, though it may originally have been accepted because the Emperor so decreed, has inspired ideas which, if the test came, would be found fatal to the old autocracy. The feudal system may persist in matters of ceremonial, but it is impossible that the Western learning can have spread among the leaders of the people as it has done without cutting the ground from under the absolutism of a generation ago. The friends of Japan may be sure that, in any time of trial, the new civilization, at first imposed by imperial authority, would now be ardently preserved for its own sake.

An additional reason for confidence is suggested by another of Mr.

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Gulick's chapters. Can it be that the difference between the Eastern and the Western mind has been exaggerated? We often argue as though the two were incompatible: Mr. Gulick maintains that the differences between them are infinitesimal as compared with the likenesses. From his careful discussion of the whole subject, one striking piece of evidence may be selected:

> For thousands of years certainly the Japanese and Anglo-Saxon races have had no ancestry in common. Yet so similar is the entire structure and working of their minds that the psychological text-books of the Anglo-Saxon are adopted and perfectly understood by competent psychological students among the Japanese. I once asked a professor of psychology in the Matsuyama normal school if he had no difficulty in teaching his classes the psychological system of Anglo-Saxon thinkers, if there were not peculiarities of the Anglo-Saxon mind which a Japanese could not understand, and if there were not psychological phenomena of the Japanese mind which were ignored in Anglo-Saxon psychological text-books. The very questions surprised him; to each he gave a negative reply.

The generalizations of Prof. Le Bon, Mr. Percival Lowell, and other Western writers respecting the alleged essential differences between the Oriental and Occidental psychic natures are acutely criticised by Mr. Gulick, who contends that the so-called racial characteristics are sociological, not biological. The fundamental social idea of the East is communalism; that of the West, individualism. As the social order of the country changes and Japan adopts little by little the individualism of the West, her national characteristics will be modified in detail.

This theory is put forward by Mr. Gulick as applying not to Japan only, but to the East in general. If it be valid, the future history of India also will be contrary to Mr. Townsend's prediction, for there, too, the new social order will act as a solvent of venerable tradition. Fortunately, it is not necessary to suppose that the modernizing of those ancient lands will involve the destruction of those elements in their life which possess a peculiar charm. Japan, to quote Mr. Gulick's words, "has a social heredity that will always and inevitably modify every Occidental custom and conception that may be brought to this land. Although in time Japan may completely individualize her social order, it will never be identical with that of the West." That is to say: Tokio will never become a duplicate of New York, nor will the citizen of Chicago ever be in danger of mistaking Osaka for his own home.

HERBERT W. HORWILL.

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SOCIOLOGICAL QUESTIONS.

CERTAIN sociological questions have a greater theoretical and practical interest for the United States than for any other nation. Attention is drawn to them by American conditions. American society offers the greatest variety of material for an inductive investigation of them. True scientific answers to them, if such can be obtained, will be a prophecy of our destinies as a people.

Before I enumerate these questions, or try to show their significance, or indicate the methods by which they should be studied, let me explain the sense in which I use the word "sociological."

After all that has been said on this subject by men like Herbert Spencer, John Fiske, and Lester F. Ward, who have written in the English tongue, not to mention such gifted Frenchmen as Fouillée, Guyau, and Tarde, or such Germans as Gumplowicz and Simmel, it should be unnecessary to remind intelligent readers that sociology is neither political economy nor political science, that it is neither the investigation of tenement-house families by social settlement workers nor the study of hobo hang-outs by amateur tramps. Sociology is the study of the physical and mental conditions which determine the groupings of human beings; which govern their communication and association; which create unity of feeling, public opinion, and the public conscience; which give rise to common purposes and coöperative efforts to achieve them; and which determine the form and the character that coöperative relations assume. Sociology is, in short, a study of those fundamental social facts which all other branches of social science take for granted. There are no business activities, commercial or industrial, and no quarrels between labor and capital, except in society. Apart from society there are no customs, no laws, no governments. Only in society are there tenement-house populations and settlement workers. Only in society are there criminals, degenerates, and hoboes. What, then, is society? How does it come into existence? What are the natural processes and limitations of its evolution? To these ultimate questions all strictly sociological inquiries are scientifically related.

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As the problems of a scientific sociology are definite and correlated, so also are its methods. Much social philosophizing has justly been criticized as vague. Sociology is an attempt to get away from *a priori* theorizing, and to arrive at knowledge, even though the knowledge be of a modest sort, falling far short of philosophy. A scientific investigation of society uses the methods which have yielded positive results in all the inductive sciences. They include careful analysis, painstaking classification, and generalization from classified facts. Sociology employs especially the comparative methods that have been perfected by the trained historian, and the quantitative methods of the statistician. More and more the study of contemporaneous society is becoming statistical, and the study of the societies of the past is becoming comparative.

The questions which I am now about to present are representative examples of sociological topics. They are neither more nor less definite than many others which the sociologist studies. I have selected them with reference to their practical interest and importance, and it is this aspect which I wish to emphasize. Yet I shall be glad if incidentally my brief account of them may serve to show that the problems of true sociology are not vague, and that its methods are not loose.

Of the various attempts to find a scientific explanation of the rise and fall of nations, probably the most familiar is that which asserts a close connection between physical geography or "environment," on the one hand, and, on the other hand, the qualities, the habits, and the organization of a people. The readers of Buckle's brilliant pages have not been a large proportion of those who pride themselves upon their knowledge of history, and the readers of Montesquieu's "Spirit of the Laws" have been still fewer. Yet the chief teaching of these works has filtered through a thousand lesser writings to the multitude. Both Montesquieu and Buckle used the method of comparison. Each drew from the circumstances of many nations the facts upon which he based his contention that soil, climate, and topography are the primary causes of national genius. It is generally conceded, however, even by those who believe that these authors were substantially right in their main conclusion, that they did not establish it by adequate proof. To what was their failure due?

Their critics answer: To imperfect analysis. They did not fully exclude the alternative hypothesis that national genius is racial, a fact of heredity. Not having dealt adequately with this possibility, they naturally did not inquire whether, even if mental qualities are hereditary, the

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character of a people may not nevertheless be determined indirectly by environment, through some influence exerted upon the density or the ethnic composition of the population.

It happens that this hypothesis is precisely the one which is being forced upon the attention of sociological students by American conditions. The population of the United States has grown since 1700 at a rate unprecedented in the history of any continent, and the 20,000,000 of the foreign-born who have come to us as immigrants since 1820 have included every ethnic element which the old world could contribute. These facts suggest at once three perfectly definite and profoundly interesting questions. Is density of population strictly proportional to the resources and economic opportunity offered by the territory occupied? Must a people be ethnically composite in a like proportion? And, finally, are the ethnic composition of a population and its density the chief causes of national character and conduct?

I dare say that more than one reader of these pages will promptly answer the first of these questions with an emphatic "Of course." What could be more obvious? Why talk of carefully investigating anything so simple, and discuss niceties of scientific method? To any such reader I beg to say that there is no "of course" about it. These easy *à priori* conclusions have led to more than one bad practical blunder in political economy, and they are wholly out of place in sociology. The question, as I have stated it, admits of an exact statistical answer, but the answer has not yet been found. In support of an affirmative conclusion, we have the fact that density of population in Europe and in America is great wherever the economic resources are exceptional. The rich agricultural lands of river basins teem with prosperous life. Regions abounding in water power, and the shores of great harbors, become crowded with urban populations. Then, too, immigration to the United States since 1820 would be graphically represented by a rising and falling line, very nearly parallel with one representing the ups and downs of industrial prosperity. Yet all this does not establish the certainty that density of population varies in a mathematical proportion to economic resource. Thousands of families dwell in Colorado and in California not for business reasons, but for health or pleasure. Tens of thousands of families dwell within a zone thirty miles wide outside of a great city, although their business is within the city itself. Again, as economic opportunity increases, the intensity of the struggle for existence often increases with it, and both birth rates and death rates are affected. All of these causes make it entirely possible that, while the bet-

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ter environments have always the denser population, the increase of population may be at a slower rate than the increase of opportunity. This is a possibility of the deepest moment in its bearing upon natural selection and through selection upon the entire career and happiness of a people. Our first question, then, is one eminently worthy to stimulate extended and thorough investigation. It must take the form of exact statistical studies of resources, birth rates, death rates, and migration. Such studies will in time lead to a definitive answer. Rude fragments of statistical material which we now possess point to the probability that population normally increases with the increases of economic opportunity, but in a diminishing ratio.

Let us turn now to our second question. This time the *à priori* reader will not feel so sure of his ground. He is not ready to say offhand that the physical character of a habitat or the economic opportunities that it offers must attract few or many ethnic varieties according to the material rewards which it yields to effort. The fact can be determined only by a combination of extensive observation with statistical detail. The knowledge that we possess at present of the ethnic make-up of the civilized peoples of the world indicates that, as a rule, the relatively homogeneous populations dwell in the relatively poor and isolated environments. The people of the maritime provinces of British North America are homogeneous by comparison with the North Atlantic Division of the United States. On the other hand, a region of great natural fertility, to which, under the operation of pure economic law, the stream of immigration ought to tend, may remain astonishingly homogeneous, as our South Atlantic States have done. Not only so, but the distribution of immigration itself may be such that like stocks drift to some given region instead of mingling indiscriminately with other stocks.

This is clearly shown in the ethnic composition of the North Central Division of the United States, as compared with the North Atlantic. To these two divisions have come the greater number of our foreign-born citizens, but the North Central Division has selected chiefly the Teutonic stocks. No less than 74.44 per cent of the foreign-born of that division are Teutonic, and 86.41 per cent are Teutonic and Celtic, the amalgamation of which will create a stock differing little from the English. In the North Atlantic Division, on the other hand, 35.98 per cent of the foreign-born are Teutonic, 29.40 per cent are Celtic, 8.16 per cent are Celto-Latin, 8.62 per cent are Ibero-Latin, and 17.12 per cent are Slavonic. Obviously, other influences than the economic attraction determine the degree of ethnic composition. Like minds seek

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like conditions, and seek each other. There is a social selective process here to be measured. The information is worth obtaining, and it can be obtained. When found, it will probably show that bountiful environments normally have heterogeneous populations, but that the heterogeneity does not increase as rapidly as economic opportunity. The selective tendencies make for homogeneity, a fact favorable to social stability.

When we come to our third question *à priorism* has nothing to say. One cannot even guess off-hand whether a composite and dense population is more or less likely to do great things than a homogeneous and scattered population. But neither will any direct and simple investigation of the inductive order answer this question. It must be broken up into lesser and more specific questions, each of which can be answered by a statistical inquiry, or by a comparison of national records.

The natural question to start with is this: Must the mental and moral heterogeneity of a people be in direct proportion to its ethnic heterogeneity? No one can read American newspapers without soon discovering a popular belief that some such relation as that which this question implies may be looked for. There is a widely-diffused feeling of uneasiness lest the incoming horde of South European and East European peoples may permanently affect not only the American blood, but also American habits and ideas. Offsetting this fear is a strong popular faith that the American mind is vigorous enough to modify and to assimilate the foreign-born elements to a great degree. Happily, the statistician is able to say positively that, while each new ethnic element brought into a population does undoubtedly affect the ideas, the morals, and the manners of a composite people, yet mental heterogeneity does not in all cases — in the United States it certainly does not — increase in any mathematical proportion to the ethnic variety.

In our entire mainland population of 75,568,686 there are only 1,403,212 who do not speak English. Practically all American-born children of our immigrants acquire the English tongue, and with it an astonishingly large part of the American political tradition. Sentimentally, at least, they are all Americans of the intensest sort. The number of illiterates is small, only 6,180,069.

There is practically only one religion, the Christian, in the United States. And such differences of religious faith as exist are to a very slight extent affected by the multiplicity of nationalities coming to us from Europe. The Protestants of the various denominations find their religious kindred already here; and the Catholics come under an influ-

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ence which in America, as in Europe, makes strongly for unity of faith and practice, with the additional circumstance that in this country it works also strongly for the rapid dissemination of American political conceptions. The Catholic church in America is on the whole in the hands of an Irish priesthood, and Irish-American priests, with rare exceptions, are loyal, liberal Americans in their political sympathies.

So far, then, as the maintenance of the general agreement in ideals and moral standards is concerned, American experience and American statistics decidedly negative the pessimistic view that ethnic compositeness, due to a continuing immigration of many nationalities, must be mentally disintegrating in proportion to the extent and the variety of the immigration. This conclusion is perfectly in harmony with all that we know of the history of civilization. The Greeks, the Romans, the French, the English, were peoples created by the amalgamation and assimilation of many tribal elements. They became homogeneous in thought and in purpose because it has always been possible, as we now in the United States see it to be possible, for men of many kindreds to have agreeing minds, responding to the same influences and forming common purposes.

We have now a clue to the relation of environment to national character. A bountiful environment has a dense and heterogeneous population, but neither density nor compositeness is likely to increase as rapidly as economic opportunity, and the process of assimilation makes mental heterogeneity less than the ethnic. What, then, is the relation of the increasing density and variety to national character?

Of all phases of national character the most important by far is the tendency toward impulsive or, on the contrary, toward deliberative social action. One people is quick, emotional, fanatical perhaps, easily moved to outbreaks of violence. Another people is calm, reasonable, methodical, and law-abiding in all its coöperative undertakings. How are the density and the ethnic heterogeneity of a population related to one or the other of these tendencies? Is dense aggregation favorable or unfavorable to contagious emotion and impulsive social action? Is heterogeneity, ethnic or mental or both, favorable or unfavorable to deliberative social action?

In approaching these questions the sociologist must heed the psychological factors. His statistics will be of no avail unless they represent true classification. There are two principles to be remembered. Extensive observation of mob action in many countries, in many periods, has shown that, irrespective of race, the aggregation of men in crowds is,

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in and of itself, highly favorable to impulsive, unreasoning, and often violent action. Men in crowds are easily influenced by suggestion, and in the mass a sense of individual responsibility is lost. So far, then, the increasing density of modern populations is seemingly favorable to popular tumult, which might easily become insurrection or revolution. In the literature of political science there is perhaps no more familiar assumption than the one which associates all the dangers of the mob spirit with a democratic organization of great cities.

And yet a strict application of the comparative method to the study of this question does not justify the apprehension. On the contrary, a systematic grouping of observations from many parts of the world would demonstrate that the phenomena of lawless popular action, as in insurrections, lynchings, and riotous outbreaks in connection with labor strikes, are, on the whole, phenomena of rural rather than of urban populations. There have been scenes of wild violence in Paris and in London; there have been draft and other riots in New York City; but the collective violence in all the great cities of Europe and America for two hundred years would not make a great showing by comparison with the epidemics of emotion — accompanied by dancing and other manias — that surged through rural communities in connection with the great revival movements under the Wesleyans, the later revivals of 1837 and 1857, the insurrections like Shay's rebellion and the whiskey rebellion, the Ku Klux Klan outrages, the Vigilance Committee activities, the conflicts between Gentiles and Mormons, the White Cap outrages, and the lynchings in our Western and Southern States.

The reason for this curious fact is undoubtedly to be found in the restraining effect of ethnic and mental difference. The rural community is relatively homogeneous. The "neighbors" for miles in every direction are nearly all of one blood. They are practically of one economic condition. For the most part they are of one religious confession or of two or three confessions not very unlike in creeds and practices. All are acquainted with one another. An exciting event or suggestion that moves one will, almost certainly, move the others. Emotion among them is highly contagious. They respond to like stimuli because they are alike. The city population is composite and differentiated. In a mixed crowd of hundreds that gathers on the street no one man of them all recognizes a dozen others. They are of all sorts and conditions, the well-to-do and the poor, and often of many nationalities. Danger arises only when discontent and inflammatory suggestion find homogeneous material to work upon in a quarter whose denizens are of one national-

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ity and of the same economic condition, and among whom may be found, here and there, small gangs of toughs who are already disciplined in associating for lawless purposes. Only an extraordinary influence can combine the impulsive tendencies of unlike classes, differing nationalities, unacquainted neighborhoods, in one great outbreak. Such things have happened, and doubtless will happen again; but the normal influence of heterogeneity and differentiation in a population is unfavorable to collective action.

This, of course, means that agreement in feeling and purpose is difficult to establish in a highly composite population, a fact which suggests a further sociological question of fundamental importance, a question which has been asked many times in our history and is still asked. Can a highly heterogenous people — ethnically and mentally composite — whether small or large, scattered or densely aggregated, hold together in enduring organization?

A comparative study of nations, of religious and of economic organizations, can give an answer to this question which is sufficiently certain, but which should be made more precise by further accumulations of fact. Exceedingly heterogenous empires have been formed, but they have not long endured. The career of imperial Rome was long by comparison with the empires founded by Alexander, by Charlemagne, by Philip II of Spain, and by Napoleon, but there has been only one Rome. On the other hand, the Roman church has bound the most varied ethnic elements together for nearly two thousand years, in an astonishing unity of religious faith and allegiance. Stripping off all circumstances that are peculiar to some one or another of these instances, the factor that remains as a common element in all is the impressive power of a strong personality, or of a personality set apart and endowed with authority by a reverently-held belief. There are, in a word, a few stimuli to which the most varied minds, one and all, simultaneously and persistently respond. One of these is a concrete personality, a leader endowed with supreme genius. Another is an abstract personality — a Pope — invested with authority. Human beings are more alike in feeling than in intellect; and men who could not come to agreement through any process of rational discussion will instinctively follow, or yield their loyal allegiance to, one forceful individual who can take the initiative, or assert the supreme rightfulness of his command.

It follows that we may naturally expect to find heterogeneous elements, if organized at all, bound together by their common allegiance to an authoritative or even a despotic rule. What we need now, to

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establish or to modify this conclusion, is a series of careful studies of organizations of every description, religious, economic and political, to ascertain the exact limits of this wide generalization. Is boss rule in religion, in industry, and in politics inseparable from a high degree of ethnic and mental heterogeneity in any people? Apparently it is, and apparently liberalism is possible only to a people, or fragment of a people, sufficiently like-minded to respond to common ideals and to arrive by deliberative processes at agreement upon plans and methods.

Happily it is not homogeneity of the most thorough-going sort, or in every particular, that is necessary to enable a people to coöperate in a liberal spirit. As has already been intimated, men of different nationalities may agree in ideals or purposes, and that has been eminently true of the American population.

Too much unlike-mindedness would seem to be fatal to liberty; is too near an approach to homogeneity consistent with progress? Can a really homogeneous people be progressive? As a preliminary generalization we must say that all progressive peoples of which history tells us have been formed by an admixture of ethnic elements. The Greeks, the Romans, the French, above all the English, were created by an amalgamation of unlike bloods, and the mind of each of these peoples was early brought in contact with the varied culture of the known world and became correspondingly differentiated. Unfortunately, we cannot at present give precision to this generalization. We can only say that all the knowledge which we now possess points to the conclusion that a people which is to be remarkable for its progressive tendencies must be created by a blending of many elements, as had happened in England before the Norman conquest, and as is happening in the United States to-day. The question presents a fine opportunity for careful studies, showing the exact degrees of admixture which are correlated with the most persistently progressive tendencies. There is nothing impossible in the undertaking, and the conclusions, I am confident, would be reassuring to the American citizen. Somewhere between excessive heterogeneity and complete homogeneity will be found that precise composition of a people which ensures progress and is yet compatible with personal freedom and a liberal social organization.

The real danger confronting American ideals and institutions, then, probably does not lie in any consequences of that policy of almost unrestricted welcome which we have extended to the peoples of the old world. Danger of the most serious kind there would be if we should freely open our ports to oriental immigration, and permit millions of

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the yellow race to make their homes among us, thereby creating here a second great race problem. Amalgamation and assimilation are only a question of time, so long as the ethnic elements are as nearly akin as are the nationalities of Europe. They could not be carried to the extent of blending white, black, and yellow bloods, ideas, and moral standards without creating a people and a polity almost totally unlike what we now delight to call American. Assuming, however, that no such commingling of unlike races will be for a moment thought of, the real danger to our character and institutions lies in certain results of the wide liberty which we enjoy, a liberty born of our practical homogeneity of mind, created and maintained in spite of the multiplicity of our origins.

Liberty of individual initiative and freedom of contract, in a land of marvellous resources, differentiates a population into economic classes — the rich and the poor, the powerful and the weak. The rapidity with which that differentiation has proceeded in America since the Civil War has been almost unprecedented in the economic history of the world. The phenomenal growth of gigantic corporations and of an enormously wealthy class, on the one hand, and the increasing power of trades unionism, on the other hand, are now forcing upon the attention of every thoughtful mind the question: Can a people maintain its liberties unimpaired if it permits the unrestricted growth of inequality? May not great disparity of economic conditions be in the long run as fatal to liberalism as any other form of excessive heterogeneity? Must it not create such differences of interest and of view that national cooperation can no longer be maintained through the spontaneous response of millions of minds to the same ideals? Must there not be a falling-back to a scheme of organization which is based upon allegiance to mere personal leadership? Must not our whole organization become coercive and authoritative rather than democratic?

This question, like the others that have been propounded, is not to be answered in any high, *à priori*, dogmatic way. We must make a comparative study, as nearly as possible statistical, of States, and of voluntary organizations within States, to ascertain what range of inequality actual experience shows to be consistent with liberalism. This will not be the work of a few investigators or of a few months. It will be a work that should engage, and I am confident will engage, thousands of the ablest minds for years to come.

We have in America to-day a group of earnest citizens who believe that our greatest danger lies in our present and future relations to weaker peoples or, in general, to the inferior races. They fear that we are en-

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tering upon the career of colonial exploitation which has been so perilous a temptation to European powers. A sociological question which both the anti-imperialists and those who hold quite opposite views should desire to see studied in a comprehensive way is that which was raised by Mr. Spencer in his earliest contribution to sociological theory, and which became the suggestion of his whole scheme of evolutionist philosophy. Can there be two or more finite aggregations of matter and energy, in touch or communication with one another, in which there shall not be taking place at every instant an "equilibration"? Must not an aggregate, surcharged with energy, transform the aggregate that is undercharged? Merely as a question of physics, this last question can, of course, be answered in the affirmative. But in its application to human societies the principle assumes a vitally important concrete form.

Assuming that the strong people will beyond a doubt transform the weaker people, and the strong race the weaker race, must the transformation necessarily be wrought out through military subjugation or through economic exploitation? Are there not other channels, philanthropic and educational, through which energy may be discharged, and are not these becoming increasingly important in modern times? There could be no more important, no more interesting, series of investigations than those which this question suggests. At what rate are our expenditures of money, time, and work in educational and missionary endeavor for the weaker peoples increasing? What results are they yielding? How do they compare with the growth of commercial exploitation, and with the increasing pressure of political authority upon the dark-skinned races? Enthusiastic claims, confident assertions, abound. Missionary and educational statistics taken at their face value indicate vast progress in the substitution of humane for barbaric methods of equilibrating the energies of the powerful and the weak peoples. What are the facts? We need comprehensive, critical, statistical studies. When we get them they will, I am sure, show that while both subjugation and commercial exploitation will long continue, these methods of accomplishing the transformation of the weak by the strong have already begun to bear a diminishing ratio to those educational methods which will one day make one great humanity of all the kindreds of the earth.

FRANKLIN H. GIDDINGS.

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THE EDUCATIONAL OUTLOOK.

SLOWLY the educators of America are becoming convinced of the wisdom of concentrating their endeavors upon the definition of standards for the construction of programmes for the various educational institutions from the kindergarten up to the professional schools. Thus far tradition has been the only really universal guide. The substantial transformation which the industrial and social life of the nation has undergone in the last fifty years and the consequent changes in the demands upon the educated adult have received but scant practical recognition in the general scholastic routine. Comparatively few schools have made serious efforts to remodel their courses of study in accordance with the new aspects of worldly affairs. Nor have the results been uniformly satisfactory where reforming exertions have enjoyed fullest scope. Psychological dilettantism and speculative experimentation have been permitted to work confusion in vain endeavors to find a way out of the present dissidence between school programmes and the needs of American civilization. The trouble is that there is among schoolmen no hard and fast agreement even concerning the most elementary details of every-day practice.

The lack of binding professional norms is at last being regarded as a misfortune by an increasing number of earnest students of education. The growing membership of the recently founded Society of Educational Research supplies encouraging evidence of a widespread desire to reach some conclusions worthy of general adoption. The method of scientific inquiry adopted by this society assures the collection of incontrovertible data concerning the actual capacity of children at different stages of development, the physical and intellectual conditions of learning, and similarly fundamental questions. The pedagogical reasonableness of the various demands made upon the several grades of schools may then be tested by reliable standards, and order will be wrought out of the present chaos.

To be sure, desirable as it is that there should be some degree of professional consensus as to the possibilities and limitations of tried

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pedagogic processes, and urgent as it is that teachers should possess a certain amount of definite and reliable information concerning the time and conditions most favorable to the attainment of specified scholastic results, there still remains the ever new teleological problem of educational values. The latter has been for the past three thousand years or more the favorite topic of reformers. But as there has been, in all this time, no universally acceptable standard for testing the relative importance of the various educational pursuits proposed to the schools, the discussions have yielded only very meagre results.

The original source of the present curricula was the desire to train up young men for the priesthood and the church choir. By a series of compromises the practical demands of secular life were accorded recognition, until there were evolved the typical school programmes of the present day. As far as the public elementary schools are concerned, the course includes reading, writing, spelling, language, and arithmetic. Almost everything outside of these generally accepted studies must defend its claims to a place on the programme. There are, indeed, educational theorists who would contest even the limited agreement we possess. But the plain people have decreed that these branches must be taught, and, as they pay the teachers, their decision stands.

The points to be settled, then, by the discussions now turning about school programmes, are what should be taught beyond the three R's, and how to apportion this subject-matter among the several forms of schools — elementary, secondary, and higher. A preliminary step will be the defining and fixing of the time limits of the combined course. This task the National Council of Education has recently intrusted to a committee, with President Eliot, of Harvard University, as chairman. According to "The Educational Review," which is in position to obtain exclusive N. E. A. news, the committee is also authorized "to define anew the content and value of the culture element in education," whatever that may mean; at any rate, it is "to attempt to formulate this subject for discussion and possible investigation in the future." It is to be hoped that the intention is to arrive at a new definition of what President Eliot would call "the cultivated man," to blaze the way for some unanimity as to what sort of an individual the finished product of the whole school machinery ought to be and what he ought to know and be able to do. The committee is to report to the National Council of Education, which will make the discussion of the findings a special order of business at its next meeting.

President Eliot has already expressed his views concerning several

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of the questions which his committee is called upon to consider. He believes it to be in the interest of society, as well as that of the individual, that young men should be enabled to enter well-trained on the practice of a profession by the time they are twenty-five years old. The preliminary preparation should accordingly come to an end at twenty-one. Taking it for granted that it would be unsafe to trust young people with the freedom afforded them at college, before they are seventeen or eighteen years old, the fixing of a reasonable time allotment for the college course ought not to be so difficult a task. The debate may then occupy itself with the character of the work to be accomplished.

The question nearest at hand is: What should be the ideal product of the college? The agitation for the shortening of the college course has already brought it forward. Here, again, President Eliot has sketched out a number of fundamental considerations which must determine essential elements in the answer to be formulated. The topic of his address as President of the National Educational Association was, "The Cultivated Man." In it he described "the best results of real culture" as "an open mind, broad sympathies and respect for all the diverse achievements of the human intellect at whatever stage of development they may be to-day — the stage of fresh discovery, bold exploration, or complete conquest."

President Eliot's "cultivated man" is not to be "a weak, critical, fastidious creature, vain of a little exclusive information or of an uncommon knack in Latin verse or mathematical logic; he is to be a man of quick perceptions, broad sympathies and wide affinities, responsive but independent, self-reliant but deferential, loving truth and candor, but also moderation and proportion, courageous but gentle, not finished but perfecting." All this is rather general, to be sure, but President Eliot is arguing for a standard rather than a programme of culture. He does become concrete enough to say that "Emerson taught that the acquisition of some form of mental skill and the practice of some form of mental labor were essential elements of culture," and that "this idea has more and more become accepted in the systematic education of youth." President Eliot is also convinced that "a cultivated man should express himself by tongue or pen with some accuracy and elegance." On searching further, we find ground sufficient to justify the inference that he regards English literature as surpassing in importance all the literatures of antiquity. He would give the constructive imagination more play room in the field of physical and biological research. As to the

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rest, he would select from the infinite human store of knowledge those portions which will enable the cultivated man "with his individual, personal qualities, to deal best and sympathize best with nature and with other human beings."

The same convention which had the good fortune to listen to President Eliot's conception of "the cultivated man" of the present day was favored with a paper by Dr. Andrew F. West, Dean of the Graduate School of Princeton University, which contained the best and most comprehensive statement that has appeared in many a long day concerning the ideals for which the American college should stand. Its theme was "The Present Peril to Liberal Education." On the positive side the paper formed an excellent supplement to President Eliot's definition.

Dr. West regards the American college as the noblest representative of liberal education and "our one available centre of organization for true universities." He believes it to be best fulfilling its mission by withdrawing its young men for awhile from the world "to cultivate their minds and hearts by contact with things intellectual and spiritual in a society devoted to those invisible things on which the abiding greatness of our life depends." In this way, he asserts, the young men will be prepared "for a better career in the world" than they would otherwise be able to find. He would not cast all colleges in one mould. Attempts to establish uniformity would certainly prove futile, in view of the extreme diversity of educational conditions in our land. Dr. West holds, however, that the colleges must at all events "make as clear as possible what it is they are severally seeking to accomplish." He is also convinced that there are "enough college studies of indisputably and eminently liberal character to fill the course to repletion." His hope is that most of the colleges will be able to stand together "for the conviction that there are college studies essential for all who take the college course, that it is the completion of these which opens to the student the best all-round view of the knowledge most serviceable for his whole after life, and that the ideas of discipline and duty in studies as well as in conduct underlie any real development of the one true freedom of the human spirit."

What a gain it would be if President Eliot and Dean West could be induced to unite upon an outline for a college programme! President Pritchett, of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, might consent to act as arbiter in matters concerning "practical" pursuits where "con-

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fusion of counsels" would be likely to develop. A series of joint resolutions emanating from a conference of these three men would greatly diminish the present uncertainty as to the proper scope and character of college curricula. The general principles so cautiously unfolded by President Eliot and Dean West form a good foundation to build upon. But we would be happier yet if discussion could occupy itself with something more tangible in the shape of a standard college programme.

President Pritchett brought before the National Educational Association some wholesome observations concerning the present rage for technical courses in secondary schools. Tactfully, but firmly, he presented, from his extensive experience, conclusions which must be rather discomfiting to the advocates of more extensive manual-training courses as a preparation for technical schools and practical pursuits. While his address occupied itself more particularly with the modern "manual-training high school," it gave emphasis to several noteworthy considerations bearing upon the organization of school programmes in general. Taken in conjunction with the papers of President Eliot and Dean West, it aids considerably in clarifying the atmosphere. Once the colleges have agreed upon a universally acceptable standard of qualification for those who wish to be permitted to enjoy the benefits of higher education, the construction of a model secondary school curriculum will not be half as formidable as it is now in the eyes of those in whose minds the "fitting" part of the work has assumed undue proportions — and that is an overwhelming majority of the high-school teachers.

The difficulty has been still further reduced by President Pritchett's demonstration of the wastefulness of many present pursuits intended to train the pupils for admission to technical schools. In showing this, he punctured some of the most cherished phrases of reformers who would industrialize every phase of school work and reduce everything to a manual-training basis, as Heusinger actually proposed more than a century since. There is no doubt that manual training is of inestimable value as a school subject; but it is no more a specific for educational ills than was Greek when the enthusiasts of the Renaissance argued its pedagogical virtues. In support of his convictions, President Pritchett cited some telling observations from his sixteen years of experience as teacher of mathematics in a Western university. The pupils there, with all of whom he came in contact, were drawn almost wholly from three schools — two ordinary high schools, one public and one private, and a manual-training high school of wide reputation. He discovered,

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and the findings of his colleagues coincided with his own, that the graduates of the public high school were "uniformly the best prepared in respect to those matters which have to do with general scholarship, such as correct use of English, neatness and accuracy of work, and scholarly interest in all subjects." The graduates of the manual-training school proved on the whole the most backward in these respects. This was to be ascribed to two chief causes: "the smaller amount of time spent upon such subjects, and the higher importance which the pupil very naturally gave to manual training." In his opinion, therefore, the manual-training school must share with most American educational projects the responsibility for "that dilution of scholarship which comes from the effort to teach a great many subjects in a limited time." He added:

> Our schools reflect, or possibly account for, the national tendency to make a little knowledge go a great way. The American is alert, energetic, resourceful, and superficial. He can make a little knowledge go farther than the citizen of any other country, and this lesson he has had every opportunity to learn in the school. Initiative, resourcefulness, and nervous energy were great factors in our pioneer work, and they are great factors still; but they will not endure in competition with efficient training, patient study, and exact knowledge. The pioneer epoch has passed.

President Pritchett asserted that the schools of the people will always continue to render the best service by "developing the intellectual power of men," and that the most direct contribution they can make to human progress is to teach men to think, "for clear thinking lies at the base of all right progress." Effective schools are needed, he argued, which will turn the faces of teachers and the American people toward "simplicity, sincerity, and thoroughness in education." From this standpoint, he pleaded for a curriculum, from the first school day to the completion of secondary education, which is best characterized in his own words:

> To my thinking, an American boy who has a good knowledge of his own language — a knowledge which has led him to read and to love good books — who is master of his elementary mathematics, whose accuracy of observation has been trained by a good elementary course in drawing, and who knows well Latin or some modern language, with such familiarity with natural science as his own reading and simple laboratory talks and experiments supply, such a boy has a better education with which to go into the world, and is better prepared to enter the college or technical school, than a student who knows in a partial and superficial way four times as many things, even though these include subjects of such apparent practical significance as the shop and the work bench suggest.

It was far from President Pritchett's intention to argue against the teaching of trades as a feature of public-school work. He heartily

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favored the encouragement of every endeavor to provide public opportunities for improving the unskilled laborer and enhancing the efficiency of men already engaged at their trade — opportunities such as Springfield, Massachusetts, has organized under the intelligent leadership of Superintendent Balliet. He would probably endorse unequivocally the contention of President Eliot that the establishment of gratuitous trade schools supported by public taxation is only a logical following out of the well-established precedent of Western State universities in providing free instruction for many professions. I selected only those portions of his address which had to do with the rationale of the sub-college curriculum. The programme that will ultimately be organized for the acceptance of secondary schools will no doubt be very much influenced by the suggestions contained in them.

One other important aspect of school education which must necessarily be taken into account in the reconstruction of curricula is the prevailing practice of coeducation, which is by no means as generally approved as its defenders would have us believe. President Hall, of Clark University, who has studied the subject for many years, is convinced that coeducation during the middle teens is "a very grave danger to civilization." It is, no doubt, cheap and expedient, he argues; but going at the very foundation of the question the wrong of it is fully demonstrated. The tendency in American schools is to wipe out sex distinctions; and, unless a change takes place, we shall soon have a "female sex without the female character." President Hall warns us not to forget that "motherhood is a very different thing from fatherhood." He would have the schools push sex distinction to its utmost, to "make boys more manly and girls more womanly."

Various fundamental questions entering into the reconstruction of the plans of secondary and higher education have thus been clearly placed before the educators of the country by trusted leaders of national prominence. To be sure, they present only the masculine view. The woman's side of the question ought to be set forth with equal completeness and authority, before the problem can be attacked in its entirety. But there is reason for profound gratitude that we have gotten as far as we have. The contribution made at the Boston convention toward the solution of this matter is most satisfactory. If as much had been done for the elementary school curriculum, the achievement would be deserving of yet higher encomium.

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There was, of course, some talk about the improvement of elementary school curricula. There always is. But it lacked seriousness and concentration of purpose. The best things that were said upon this topic either had to do with the justification of the introduction of gardening as a subject for city and country schools, or else they were intended to illuminate more particularly the relationship that should exist between elementary and secondary education. Principal Orville T. Bright, of Chicago, made a stirring, straightforward plea for admitting the school-garden idea as a factor of our system of free public instruction. Principal Henry L. Clapp, of Boston, described the success and practical development in the last thirteen years of the gardening work in the George Putnam School over which he presides. Superintendent Balliet, of Springfield, Massachusetts, suggested for general adoption in cities, a plan for the establishment of special grammar schools, with shortened courses, "for pupils who are both gifted and healthy and are to fit for college." He would reduce for these pupils the requirements in the common branches, except in English, and have them complete two years of French or German, one year of algebra, and possibly one year of Latin. They would then enter the high school at the age of thirteen, and college at seventeen. Mrs. Ella F. Young, Professor of Education in the University of Chicago, urged that the time had come when the aims of elementary and secondary education must be unified. The courses of study, she held, "must be reduced to reasonable proportions, and then intelligently apportioned between the grammar and the high school, with a clear understanding of the relations and responsibilities involved."

Perhaps the address of the United States Commissioner of Education, Dr. W. T. Harris, upon "Religious Education in the Public Schools," ought also to have been referred to in this connection. It has provoked considerable controversy in the religious press. So far as the common-school programme is concerned, it defends the principle of rigid exclusion of dogmatic religious instruction of every kind. Dr. Harris holds that religious instruction must remain the prerogative of the church, and that "in the nature of things it cannot be farmed out to the secular school without degenerating into mere deism without a living Providence, or else changing the school into a parochial school and destroying the efficiency of secular instruction." As long as there is no scheme of religious teaching fully consistent with the foundation idea of our common-school system, the address of Dr. Harris will serve to ward off the frequently recurring agitations for instruction of this

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nature and to protect one of the chief principles of the public-school curriculum.

It is well, perhaps, that no more was done with reference to the elementary-school course. It is better to wait till there is really something to be said that is worth translating into rational lines of reconstruction. There is encouragement enough in the fact that the new economic conditions that have arisen are occupying the thoughtful attention of leading schoolmen, and that the need of a thorough reconstruction of the elementary-school course is being keenly felt. Cautious proceeding here is a rule of wisdom.

The National Educational Association showed this year the extraordinary enrolment of 32,757, surpassing by many thousands the most hopeful advance estimates. Thanks to the foresight and masterly organization of the local executive committee, the machinery devised for the comfort of the convention was fully equal to the unusual strain to which it was subjected. Everybody was pleased, and the delegates are still sounding the praises of Boston. With the number of active members not in attendance this year, the total membership for 1903–4 will run close up to 35,000. In other words, the income from annual dues for this period will be not far from seventy thousand dollars. Liberal, circumspect, and forceful leadership might organize and utilize the inherent vast power for good so as to make the N. E. A. the world's most influential agency for the promotion of school improvement and for the raising of the professional, social, and financial status of teachers. The need of doing something of this sort is indeed becoming sufficiently acknowledged to persuade the Board of Directors to an appropriation of $3,000 for several laudable enterprises: $1,000 for urging upon Congress the justice of strengthening and extending the usefulness of the United States Bureau of Education and elevating it to the more adequately dignified rank of an independent administrative department; $1,500 for the collation of accurate and specific information with reference to the relation between teachers' salaries and the cost of living; $500 for investigating the claims, feasibility, and character of industrial education in rural schools. There may have been five hundred or a thousand dollars more set aside for the use of the committee authorized to report upon the time limits and educational content of the combined school and college course. That covers about the extent of the Association's special enterprises for the year.

The new volume of proceedings will contain several papers of un-

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usual value. For this the Association is indebted chiefly to the personal influence and self-sacrificing efforts of President Eliot. There will also be the usual quota of rubbish that is bound to accumulate as long as the present loose organization of the separate and more or less irresponsible departments prevails. The desirable, tolerable, and unfit will be collected and impartially preserved between the covers of the year book as a record of what a 1903 audience of teachers had the good fortune, courtesy, or patience to listen to in annual convention. With a permanent fund of upwards of $100,000 and a probable net profit for the year of more than $30,000, the N. E. A. ought to feel that it can afford to spend a few thousands on proper professional editing of its convention material. The groaning bookshelves of the faithful members would have tenfold greater value if rigid censorship had been exercised in the official publications of the last ten years. The plan is worth trying. And if the Association wants to do a still more generous thing, it will adopt the rule of paying for every contribution it sees fit to print. By doing this and not printing what is not worth paying for, it will greatly improve the quality of its literary output.

It has been the custom of the N. E. A. in recent years to issue a "Declaration of Principles." A committee with President Butler, of Columbia University, as chairman, framed the resolutions which were adopted by the Association. The strengthening of the United States Bureau of Education was recommended and the opinion expressed that this Bureau should be made an independent administrative department, such as were the Departments of Agriculture and of Labor before their elevation to Cabinet rank. The attention of Congress was invited to the condition of affairs in the Indian Territory, where fully three-quarters of the population are said to be without schools for their children. Efforts to assure to the teachers proper compensation and an undisturbed tenure during efficiency and good behavior were approved. Adherence to the belief in local taxation for school purposes, with state contributions as a supplementary aid, was reiterated. Unbecoming commercialism and intemperance of utterance on the part of teachers in promoting selfish ends were severely criticised, and submission to the developing code of professional conduct was commended. Cognizance was taken of the new movement for making the school a community centre; and the conclusion was drawn that school buildings should be made attractive as well as healthful and the adjoining grounds laid out with appropriateness and beauty. Lynching was condemned in unmistakable terms,

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and the need of teaching reverence for the majesty of the law was insisted upon.

The only department of the N. E. A. having a continuous working organization is the National Council of Education. The limited membership is secured by election. At the Boston meeting, with President Harper, of Chicago University, as chairman, it seemed natural that religious education should occupy an important place on the programme. The best contribution made to the proceedings was undoubtedly the scholarly and comprehensive summary of "The Educational Progress of the Year 1902–3," presented by President William DeWitt Hyde, of Bowdoin College. The most significant portions of it related to the greater utilization of school plants, the consolidation of rural schools, the length of the college course, and coeducation in the higher institutions of learning.

President Hyde pointed out that vacation schools, summer playgrounds, free evening lectures, and evening classes and clubs are "widening our idea of public education so as to include the elevation of the entire community." He showed that the consolidation of rural schools, now authorized in twenty States, is giving better buildings, better teaching, better supervision, larger attendance at less expense, and, "by affording a centre for intellectual and social life of widened neighborhoods, is enriching rural life and keeping the prosperous farmer on the farm." Concerning the propositions to reduce the length of school education, he had this to say:

> The proposition to cut the college course in two and throw the better half away by granting the degree of A.B. at the end of two years has met emphatic and universal condemnation. By reducing the number of grades, by offering high-school studies in the upper grammar grades, by counting secondary work and requirements for admission to college by points or credits, by stating the requirements for college degrees in units of work rather than in lapses of time, in some cases by counting the same work for the last year in college and the first year in the professional school, we are reducing the time required to prepare for a profession, and at the same time making graduation from either grammar school, high school, college, or professional school mean as much as it ever did.

Referring to the departure of Chicago University from "the educational tradition of the West," in partially segregating the women students during the first two years, he stated that this was "a brave declaration that coeducation is no mere question of administrative detail, but a profound sociological and social problem," and that henceforth "each institution must determine its policy not by doctrinaire devotion

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to abstract theory but by inductive study of its specific circumstances and resources and the preference of its special constituency."

President Hyde rejoiced at the increase, in the larger institutions, of professorships wholly or mainly devoted to research. The wise administration of the Carnegie Institution had, he was pleased to record, "side-tracked the sentimental agitation for a Washington Memorial University." He referred incidentally, also, to the "wholesome reaction from the refinement of pedantic methodology in vogue a dozen years ago," and the growing insistence upon adequate scholarship as a prime qualification of teachers. He commended the introduction of the school physician and the soliciting of reports from parents upon the health and home habits of children. By these practices, he declared, we are treating home and school as "parts of a single healthy, happy, useful life, and seeing that the avoidable breakdown of a child's health is murder in the first degree for which parents and school officers are jointly responsible."

France has taken the responsibility for the health of school children most to heart. Recently measures have been legalized to stamp out as far as possible in the schools the dangers of contagion from consumption. The Government has decreed that the pupils of every school must once in three months undergo a medical examination, and their physical condition with reference to the disposition to consumption must be reported upon. Carpets are banished from the school-rooms, dry sweeping is no longer permitted, the furniture must be washed and the books disinfected at regular intervals, and similar preventive measures will be enforced. Consumptive pupils are entirely debarred from boarding-schools. A similar system is very much to be desired in our own country.

A bill making agricultural and horticultural instruction compulsory in all schools in rural and semi-rural districts was introduced in the English House of Commons at the close of the last session. For city schools this special teaching is left optional. Several of our own States will feel the need of some such legal provision before very long. Voluntary effort is accomplishing much in blazing the way. Strangely enough, in the regions where the soil is most productive and tillage yields the largest margin of profit, the outlook for a general introduction of school gardening and elementary lessons in farm economy is brighter than in the sections where intelligence and knowledge of the best scien-

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tific methods of procedure are demanded to make agricultural labor profitable.

The English educational world has lost two honored leaders in the death of Thomas Godolphin Rooper and that of Sir Joshua Fitch. Both served their country in the capacity of school inspectors. Sir Joshua was in his eightieth year, and was generally recognized as the Nestor of education in Great Britain. His "Lectures on Teaching," delivered before the University of Cambridge in 1880, form one of the most valued books in modern pedagogical literature. Thousands of American teachers have drawn from it inspiration and practical suggestion. It is essentially a popular treatise, with little if any psychological theorization. The problem of teaching is presented from the common-sense standpoint of class-room experience. Fitch was unquestionably the most influential expositor of topics dealing with the needs of English schools. The reading public, including Parliament, respected his arguments. His extensive study of national educational systems and his breadth of view, coupled with the power of keen logical presentation, gave unusual weight to his utterances. It is a strange coincidence that the death of Rooper, whom he regarded as "the coming man in education," should have occurred so close to his own.

Rooper was an educational enthusiast, whom American teachers will best remember as the author of "A Pot of Green Feathers," the first plain and sensible exposition of the meaning and educational significance of "apperception" — a term with which the followers of Herbart in Germany drew lightning from the pedagogical sky, and which caused English-speaking teachers no end of trouble to interpret. At Bradford and Southampton his loss is felt as that of the humane, helpful, and inspiring school inspector that he was, sympathizing with his whole heart with every conscientious laborer in the educational field, and striving with all his might to make the life of the children in school as happy and productive of best results as untiring devotion could possibly make it.

OSSIAN H. LANG.

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EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH: THE RESULTS OF A TEST IN LANGUAGE.

My article in the July number was devoted to a discussion of the plans and purposes of the recently organized Society of Educational Research, and the present paper is the first to be issued under the Society's auspices. I stated in the former article that, as far as possible, the Society would aim to eliminate the personal element, and that, to insure this end, its official reports would be critically examined by the members of an advisory board, who would express by signature their agreement with the facts and conclusions, or append comments in case of a disagreement. But, owing to the fact that this article was prepared during the vacation period, it was not feasible to arrange for a meeting before going to press, so that, in this instance, the comments will have to be postponed until the following issue. However, it may be well for me to mention that I did not lose sight of the fact that my statements would be subject to careful scrutiny, in consequence of which I have exercised an unusual amount of caution to save myself from undue humiliation when my critics do get after me. This may not be apparent on the surface; but then it must not be forgotten that I have pored over my data for nearly six months, and that I therefore know whereof I speak.

The test in language on which this article is based was made in April and May of the present year. The examination was undertaken in twenty-two school buildings, representing nine cities, and the total number of children examined was over 8,300. As in arithmetic, so in language, the results have varied enormously, with this difference only, that in language the percentages have run considerably lower. The examination was again given to the pupils of the fourth, fifth, sixth, seventh, and eighth school years, being, in this instance, however, the same for all the grades. The test consisted merely of the reproduction of a story read to the pupils by the teachers.[1] As the work was sprung upon the children without any previous preparation, and the first

[1] The story — an account of Pestalozzi's school in Stanz — will be found on page 290.

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draft only was accepted, the test was naturally a very severe one; but what was fair for one was fair to all. All the tests whose results I shall publish were, as in arithmetic, taken under my personal supervision. In a few cases the story was sent by request to schools that I did not reach, and the work of the pupils was forwarded to me; but these schools are not included in the table of results (page 275).

Owing to the courtesy of the school people whom I had the good fortune to approach, the collection of the papers proved to be a comparatively simple affair; but it was not an easy matter for me to decide what to do with the material after it had been snugly deposited in my workshop. The value of my tests depends, of course, upon a trustworthy comparison of the results obtained in different schools, which implies a system of marking that is truly representative of the work of each individual set of papers. In spelling, naturally, the marking is no problem whatever. A word is either right or wrong, and the computing of the class average is a purely mechanical affair. In arithmetic, also, the marking is a comparatively simple matter; although, in that subject, the question of partial credits serves, to a certain extent, to complicate the situation.

Nor is it difficult to work out class averages in language when the test in that branch consists of a series of technical questions, to each of which a certain number of credits is allotted. But my examination was limited to a test of the pupil's ability to express his thoughts in writing, a phase of work that apparently does not permit of marking on a percentage basis—certainly the most intelligible one. But after experimenting for some time in one way and another, there suddenly flashed before my mind a scheme that might make the percentage system feasible; and, to my surprise and gratification, I found, on trial, that it did not only work like a charm, but that it possessed the merit of such remarkable speed that it would give me the opportunity to mark personally, within a reasonable period, every one of the 8,300 papers in my possession; thus insuring a degree of uniformity in criticism that could not have been expected if the papers had been distributed for marking among a number of clerical assistants. In regard to speed, I may mention that I found no difficulty whatever in marking the papers at the rate of sixty to seventy an hour.

When I had completed the marking, I began to fear that after all I might have followed a flight of imagination, and that my plan would not stand the test of close inspection. I therefore decided to be on the safe side and go over the work a second time for the purpose of verifi-

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cation. And this I did in the case of all the papers of the sixth, seventh, and eighth school years, but did not have time to revise the fourth and fifth year marks before going to press. As a result of the second marking, the absolute figures were slightly changed, but the relative position of the schools remained practically the same; and I now feel satisfied that the committee will agree with me that the percentages really represent, for all practical purposes, what the work of the respective classes is worth from a comparative point of view.

It might be supposed that in marking for expression the judgment of the individual examiner would necessarily enter as an important factor. That the personal equation does play a part in the work cannot be denied; but it is no less true that, for our purposes, it is comparatively insignificant. While, in spite of my experience, I could not even now mark a set of papers twice in the same way, nevertheless, this much is certain, that the class average on the two markings would not vary sufficiently to make any material difference. For example, a set of eighth year papers, to make a respectable showing, will have to average not less than 50 per cent. Now, if I should mark an eighth year set and the average should turn out to be 30 per cent, it would be positive proof that the work of that class was poor. If, for the sake of verification, I should then go over the set again, either immediately or at a later period, I might work out a class average of 35 per cent. This, however, would not in any way alter the fact that it was far below the minimum of satisfactory eighth grade work. In a word, I believe that in marking for expression the personal element may be so reduced as to be no greater than it is in marking a set of papers in arithmetic. And the differences in the results in language, as in arithmetic, are so very great that in the present stage of school work the finer distinctions are in no way called for.

As I do not wish any of the above statements to be accepted on faith, I shall, in this article, publish a number of carefully selected papers which will not only serve the purpose of demonstrating my system of marking, but which will, at the same time, give the reader at least a little insight into the language work as found in the elementary schools to-day. And as these papers will take up considerable space, I shall concentrate attention upon them in the present issue, and defer to the next the discussion of many of the details.

As to the plan of marking, it is certainly a very simple one. It lies merely in dividing the papers into five classes — excellent, good, fair, poor, and failure — and marking them on a scale of five; the best papers

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being given five credits, and the failures one. In changing these figures to percentages, the five's are given 100, the four's 75, the three's 50, the two's 25, and the one's zero. The class averages are then computed in the usual way, by dividing the total number of credits by the number of pupils represented.

The examination having been a test in language, the determining point in the marking was not the thought manifested in the reproduction, but the English — sentence construction, capitalization, punctuation, paragraphing, etc. Naturally, the judgment could not help being biassed, to a certain extent, by the construction of the story itself; but, to allay all doubt as to the actual extent to which the story played a part in the marking, I need merely emphasize the fact that the relation between the character of the English and the construction of the story was, as a rule, quite close. That is to say, generally speaking, the pupils who manifested the greatest ability in sentence construction, punctuation, etc., also manifested the greatest ability in the interpretation and reproduction of the story.

I shall now define what I mean by the terms excellent, good, fair, poor, and failure, and then illustrate my definitions by the children's work.

Beginning at the upper end, I may say that the mark 5 was not dispensed with a lavish hand, but was reserved for those papers that were not only accurate in practically every detail, but displayed, in addition, an artistic touch. Under these circumstances, it is not surprising that the total number of 5s was not very large. But what is really surprising is the fact that in one set of thirty-four eighth grade papers as many as twelve were 5s, while in each of two other eighth grade sets, containing thirty-five and thirty-seven papers, respectively, as many as ten were 5s. When it is borne in mind that the first draft only was accepted, and that all possibilities of fraud were eliminated by the fact that the papers were collected and carried off by myself before the close of the session, the work of these classes must be looked upon as very remarkable achievements, and altogether beyond what we might expect to find in the elementary schools. A single 5, or even two or three 5s, in a set would not necessarily speak in favor of a school, as a few individual pupils with literary taste might happen to drop into a very ordinary class; but when the work of fully one-third of a class is artistic, that of the next third strong, and the work of the last third passable, I must confess that I am tempted to jump to the conclusion that almost every pupil is capable of acquiring

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the art of writing good English, and that the normal child is not to blame if he has not acquired the power of expressing his thoughts in creditable English by the time he graduates from the elementary school. And this conclusion is fortified by the fact that I have in my collection no less than five sets of eighth year papers where the work is acceptable almost to the last pupil. In the closing paragraph of my series of articles on arithmetic, I stated that the test had certainly proved this one thing, namely, that every normally constituted child has the ability to acquire a thorough knowledge of arithmetic, and that if he fails to do so the fault is not his; and the same now appears to be true of language.

One of the schools just referred to, and two others, teach us another important lesson. When I had published my results in arithmetic, the opinion was expressed by many that the schools which had made the high percentages in that subject had probably concentrated their attention on arithmetic, and that they would be likely to show lamentable weakness if they should be examined in other branches. I am now in position to say, in answer to this argument, that this theory is not borne out by the facts. Of the eighteen schools examined in arithmetic, six succeeded in obtaining the passing mark, 60 per cent; and of these six schools four were put through my test in language. Now, it so happens that of these four schools three are among the first five of the twenty-two schools examined in language. This would appear to indicate that a successful teacher of arithmetic is also a successful teacher of language. However, the reverse of this does not seem to hold, for some of the schools that were weak in arithmetic did very creditable work in language. Of course, the data that I have collected in regard to this point are too meagre to warrant me in drawing any definite conclusions; but there are certainly indications to the effect that one who has the power to train comparatively dull pupils to see through complicated arithmetical problems has the power to train them thoroughly in other subjects as well.

The papers that I shall now present to illustrate the different types of reproductions, from the 5s down through the 1s, have all been selected from eighth year sets; and, in the marking, I endeavored to adhere to these models, even in the lower grades. Under these circumstances, due allowance will, of course, have to be made for the handicap as we descend from grade to grade; and, basing our expectations on actual achievement, the following standards are not unreasonable: Fourth year, 10 per cent; fifth year, 15; sixth year, 25; seventh year, 37.5;

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and eighth year, 50. Owing to the very low standards I have set for the fourth and fifth grades, I did not take these classes into account in computing the average for each school as a whole, but based the latter on the work of the sixth, seventh, and eighth school years. Thus, the passing average of a school has been placed at 37.5; and a glance at Table I (page 275) will show that, of the twenty-two buildings examined, seven only succeeded in meeting this demand—just the same proportion as in arithmetic.

As the above figures do not convey the same meaning as do percentages in spelling or arithmetic, because we are not here dealing with the method of right and wrong cases, it might be well to call the reader's attention to the following. Speaking in a general way, a set of papers that averages 25 per cent is composed mainly of papers marked 2 and contains a 3 for every 1. A set that averages 37.5 is composed principally of 2s and 3s and contains a 4 for every 1. A set that averages 50 is composed chiefly of 3s and contains a 4 for every 2. And a set whose percentage is 75 is made up mainly of 4s and contains a 5 for every 3. With the aid of these formulæ and the typical illustrations, the reader may form a fairly accurate idea of the character of a set of papers of any given percentage.

The following are a few illustrations of the type of reproductions marked 5:

About a hundred years ago, in far off Switzerland, there existed the little hamlet of Stanz in which were many poor people. A dreadful war had made homeless a score of little children, and it was to provide for these orphans that a school was originated. Unlike the modern ones of to-day was that little school. It consisted of one room in an old, ruined convent. But it was the best and only place the town afforded. Its master, a kind old man and a lover of children, had their interests at heart and desired to make good men of the boys, even though poverty so early retarded their progress. He found it difficult to teach the children at first, but after they discovered his feeling towards them, they did their utmost to please him. Owing to the limited space, all their time was spent in the one room. There they ate, slept, and had their lessons, for the teacher had generously undertaken to keep house for them as well as instruct them. He was constantly with them and acted as their companion, even taking part in their sports. As an amusement, he frequently told them stories after lessons were over.

But it was not their privilege to remain here long. War, the bane of their existence as it seemed, again broke out, and one day, about a year after they had entered the school, a battle was fought near Stanz. Wounded soldiers were carried into the village to be cared for, and as no place for their shelter, other than the room in the convent, was available, a man was sent to inform the master of the sorrowful fact that the school must be given up. Sadly and reluctantly, the boys prepared to leave the building, old and delapidated though it was, where they had spent the happiest and brightest days of their lives, and around which in after years, they were to associate many pleasant memories.

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TABLE I.

	School.	4			5			6			7			8			School average—6, 7, and 8 grades.	Minutes daily—oral.	Minutes daily—written.	Total minutes daily.	Per cent pupils American parentage.
		Number of pupils.	Average age.	Class average.	Number of pupils.	Average age.	Class average.	Number of pupils.	Average age.	Class average.	Number of pupils.	Average age.	Class average.	Number of pupils.	Average age.	Class average.					
City I	1	30	....	12.5	80	12.0	23.7	70	13.5	36.8	37	14.2	46.5	25	14.6	70.0	51.1	30	7	37	81
City II	1	148	12.1	9.9	123	12.6	13.1	88	13.4	33.8	59	14.0	42.9	34	14.9	76.2	50.9	30	10	40	71
City II	2	68	11.8	10.6	127	12.7	20.9	132	13.9	25.4	113	14.1	38.8	71	15.4	73.8	46.0	25	25	50	83
City III	1	188	....	13.4	150	12.2	17.7	124	13.4	31.8	74	13.9	49.4	47	14.8	56.6	45.9	28	20	48	28
City IV	1	111	11.6	14.3	114	12.3	22.2	99	12.9	35.4	65	13.6	43.4	73	14.7	56.0	44.9	24	13	37	74
City V	1	40	11.0	15.5	100	11.8	16.0	74	12.9	31.2	73	13.9	44.5	49	14.4	51.7	42.4	29	18	47	85
City II	3	....	....	....	121	...	22.5	107	....	28.7	96	....	34.8	92	....	56.0	39.8	..	..	.	..
City II	4	69	11.7	6.5	82	12.8	7.0	57	12.8	26.8	43	13.8	29.7	60	14.9	51.1	35.8	27	22	49	64
City II	5	121	11.4	5.6	189	12.4	15.7	81	13.1	23.3	48	13.4	39.2	45	14.5	41.7	34.7	19	14	33	6
City I	2	82	11.7	11.5	69	12.6	14.3	36	13.2	30.5	29	14.2	25.7	43	14.9	40.5	32.2	42	8	50	74
City V	2	75	10.9	2.5	61	11.9	8.7	72	12.6	19.9	39	13.7	23.3	46	14.3	53.2	32.1	18	18	36	56
City V	3	75	10.8	7.5	163	11.7	5.1	176	12.7	19.5	66	13.8	24.4	71	14.6	46.6	30.2	15	17	32	75
City V	4	89	....	0	08	11.8	5.2	04	12.7	15.4	82	13.4	29.8	40	14.7	42.5	29.2	..	..	..	15
City VI	1	22	11.0	0	51	11.0	4.8	33	12.5	26.8	31	13.8	23.2	36	14.4	35.0	28.3	30	10	40	85
City III	2	119	....	2.0	186	12.2	6.8	124	12.8	21.2	95	13.9	25.1	76	15.0	35.6	27.3	20	10	30	71
City VII	1	112	10.6	2.8	80	11.3	9.1	79	12.3	16.5	139	13.3	18.0	61	14.2	45.7	26.7	30	12	42	71
City III	3	82	11.1	1.7	82	12.2	9.5	71	12.7	14.8	37	13.5	26.5	40	14.1	36.5	25.9	54	18	72	34
City VIII	1	37	11.7	6.0	88	12.3	7.7	78	13.2	12.2	57	13.9	27.0	44	14.5	38.7	25.9	30	8	38	64
City IV	2	129	11.5	5.6	84	11.8	13.7	64	12.8	16.7	37	13.8	24.2	27	14.7	35.5	25.4	35	14	49	58
City IX	1	59	10.2	5.7	66	11.0	11.6	67	12.5	16.1	55	13.2	26.1	52	14.3	32.0	24.7	36	11	47	67
City IX	2	30	11.0	4.5	66	11.6	7.8	64	12.6	12.7	51	13.5	21.0	34	14.3	29.6	21.1	25	7	32	43
City VII	2	116	....	0	73	11.6	5.7	121	12.3	15.5	106	13.0	15.7	72	14.1	29.4	19.1	33	18	51	37
General average	..	....	....	6.8	....	....	12.2	...	....	23.2	....	....	30.6	....	....	47.0					
Number of pupils	..	1,802	....	....	2,163	....	....	1,821	....	....	1,433	....	....	1,138	....	....	Total, 8,357.				

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Very soon after the close of the bloody war with Austria, Stanz, a poor Swiss village which had suffered heavily in the campaigns near it, established a home and school for the orphan sons of the sacrificed soldiers. It was a humble room in a poor convent, but in it the boys ate, slept, and studied. They were cared for and instructed in their lessons by an old man who was fond of children, and so volunteered to act as their father and teacher. At first the boys, unaccustomed to anything but entire liberty, disliked him, but soon, as they realized and appreciated the sacrifice he was making for them, they joined to love and praise him.

They were not destined, however, long to remain in this haven of safety, for, within a year of its foundation, war again broke out. Again a battle was fought near Stanz, and many Swiss were wounded. The school-room was the only place available for their protection, and the boys were for the time deprived of their home.

About a hundred years ago, there existed in a little town of Switzerland, named Stanz, a school, which was made for the purpose of educating some poor boys. The parents of these children were killed in a war, leaving their children orphans and destitute of food and shelter.

The school consisted of but one room in an old convent. It was poorly provided for, but the people of Stanz were not wealthy and could do only a little for such a cause. The charge of this little school was given to an old man who was kind and thoughtful and very fond of children. Because this one room was all they had, it had to serve for every purpose. Here they ate, studied and slept, but their devoted teacher was so kind to them in every way, they were glad to endure some hardships.

There was one obstacle, however. At that time children were not made to attend school and because of this, many did not study, and remained uneducated. So it was with these boys. They felt that the master asked too much of them when he forced them to study and learn. But he talked with them kindly and coaxed them to be studious. Soon they discovered that all he did was for their own good, that when they studied and learned it was for their own benefit and theirs only. Then they were anxious to learn. They wanted to be good and noble men, to learn what their master would teach them and be well educated.

Only a year had this little school room been in use when a war broke out in the neighborhood of Stanz. One day a battle was fought near by and several wounded soldiers were brought into the town for shelter. Unfortunately the officer who was in charge of them could find no place to put them, and after a while he found a room in an old convent which would answer his purpose. This room was our little school-room, and solemnly the officer told the old master what was his wish. The master consented, and the boys had to leave their old devoted companion who had cared for them, taught them, and played with them, to enter the world alone. They did so sorrowfully, but their master had taught them to care for themselves and be brave, honest lads.

The reproduction of the type marked 4 differs from the 5 in that it is altogether lacking in that originality which lends to the latter its artistic flavor. Its characteristic features are: (1) That it is composed of well-constructed sentences; (2) that it is nearly or quite free from technical errors; and (3) that it relates a well-defined, connected story. A set that starts out with a 4 and maintains that standard to the middle of the

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class makes a very favorable impression, and is highly satisfactory. One of the eighth year sets in my possession is composed almost entirely of 4s, and, from the standpoint of uniform excellence, is a remarkable demonstration of the fact, above referred to, that by means of thorough instruction even the dullest pupils can be trained to write good English. The following are examples of 4s:

About a hundred years ago, there existed in the city of Stanz, in Switzerland, a school for poor boys.

Before this time a terrible war had broken out and a great many children were left orphans, so an old man offered to take care of them. A small room in a convent was given to them, and it was used as their school-room, bed-room, and their living-room.

At first the little children did not like the old man, because he made them work, but after they found out that what he was doing was for their own benefit, they began to love and obey him. He not only taught them, but also entered into their games, often amusing them with funny stories.

As you may think these little ones loved their home, but they were not allowed to remain in it long. Another war broke out and a battle was fought near Stanz, the captain found out that the only place of shelter for the wounded soldiers was this little room in the convent. The captain told the old man of it, and the poor motherless little ones where turned out of their home, which they loved so much.

About one hundred years ago in the little town of Stanz, in Switzerland, there was a school for poor orphan boys.

The school itself was not large and was situated in one room of an old convent. The keeper of the school was a kind old man who was fond of children. When the school was started he offered to keep the little ones and also teach the others. The school was very poor but the people around the school were very poor too and it was the best they could give these poor orphans, whose mothers and fathers had been killed during a great war.

The children at this time were not obliged to go to school and the schoolmaster found it very hard to make them learn.

At first the children did not like him because he made them learn, but when they found out it was for their own good they began to love and obey him.

As this one room was all that was given them it was used for everything and in this room they ate, slept and went to school.

Unfourtuneatly they only went to school one year when another war broke out. One day there was a battle near Stanz and several of the soldiers were wounded and it was found there was only one place to take them and was in the little school room.

The officer then came to the old schoolmaster and told him what he needed and so the little school room in the old convent was turned into a hospital. So the children were forced to leave the little school they had learned to love so well.

When we come to the papers marked 3, we arrive at the point where the complications begin to set in. The typical 5s and the

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typical 4s are very plain sailing, as they are practically unmistakable; but the 3s are of different types, which may, however, be divided into two classes. Of these, one class is practically unmistakable; but the other calls for the exercise of judgment, and some examiners might be disposed to mark the papers of this class 4.

The unmistakable 3 is a reproduction that resembles the typical 4, both in the sentence construction and in the construction of the story, but differs from it in that it contains a number of very palpable flaws, such as poorly constructed or incomplete sentences, errors in expression or verbal forms, the occasional running of sentences together, etc. Nevertheless, in form and structure, papers of this type contain enough good points to save them from being classed as poor. The papers belonging to the other class of 3s are practically free from actual errors, but present the one characteristic feature of weakness, which, in my opinion, makes them unworthy of being classed with the 4s. The following are illustrations of papers marked 3:

About one hundred years ago in the city of Stanz Switzerland a school for poor boys was started. This school was for the boys who had lost their parents in the terrible struggle just before this time. The school comprised only one room, this was for the pupils to live in and to have school.

This school was not a very comfortable one it was in an old covent. Their teacher was an old man who loved children very much. At first the pupils did not like their teacher, (but) because he made them work and learn their lessons. In those days the children were not sent to school and this was the reason why they were not willing to study and learn.

The people of Stanz were poor, and they could not afford a better school. At last the children began to love their teacher, he was always with them and tried to make every pleasant for them. He took part in their games and sports and sometimes would tell him interesting stories.

The school did not last for more than a year when one day the war broke out again and battle was fought near Stanz, and some soldiers were wounded. the officer went Stanz to find a place for the wounded soldier but he could not find one in the city except the one room in the covent. The officer went to the school and told the master his story. The teacher gave him the school for the soldiers and the boys had to leave their home they loved so well.

About one hundred years ago in a small town called Stanz, in Switzerland their were a great many poor boys whose fathers had been killed in war. In this town their lived a very kind old man who agreed to teach and take care of these poor boys.

The only place they could find for a school-room was a small room in a convent.

At first the boys did not like their school-master because he made them work, but they soon leared it was for their good that he was doing it and they loved and obeyed him.

But these poor boys did not have much room for they had to study, eat and sleep in this one little room. These boys did not keep their abode long, for one day

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(about a year after they had been—there—there was a battle near Stanz and a great many soldiers were wounded, and the General came to Stanz to see if he could find a shelter for these poor wounded soldiers, and the only place he could find was the boys schoolroom so he mournfully came to the schoolmaster and asked him if he would let him shelter the soldier there & the schoolmaster said yes & so the poor boys were turned on the street again.

As we continue on our downward path the complications increase, and by the time we get into the middle of the 2s the papers begin to lose a well-defined form. The reproductions of class 2 are manifestly poor; and their distinguishing feature is that the flaws outweigh the good points, while there is still enough of the righteous in them to save them from being classed as actual failures.

At the upper end of the 2s, *i.e.*, at the line of demarcation between them and the 3s, we still find papers whose structure resembles that of the 4s; but they abound in errors of one kind or another, and are therefore not difficult to distinguish. An example follows:

About a hundred years ago their was a terrible war broke out near "Stanz" in Switzerland. Their was quite a good many boys who lost their parnets and lost their home. The people of Stanz were poor but they tried to help these boys. They found out for them an old convent. This convent had but one room in it. An old man said that he would go & live with these boys & be their master.

The boys at first did not like him, because he tried to teach them but they soon liked him for trying to teach them. He was very kind to them & did all he could to help them & he soon made them happy & they did not think so much of their dear father & mother who were gone of them.

This kind old man did not only teach them but also entered into some of their games. He often told them stories. He was like a companion to them he was always with them.

As I said their was one room in the convent they had to—sleep—eat their meals & also to learn their lessons & play their games here sometimes. These boys did not hate their school master any more but loved him, dearly.

About a year after they had lived in this convent another war broke out near by & their were many soldiers who were injured. The commander of these soldiers (who were hurt) wanted a place to take them. The poor people of Stanz did not know of any place that he could take them at last he found out this place where the boys had lived with their school-master for about a year so peaceably with one another.

He came to the master of these poor boys & told him that their was a good many soldiers who had been hurt in this out break of war & he said he had not place to take them. So the master said that he could have the convent which only had the one room in it & the boys gave up their home to the sick & injured soldiers.

This was turned into a hospital for the soldiers. The boys love this convent but gave it up to the sick.

Next we find papers that have but little in their favor beyond properly constructed sentences sandwiched in between faulty ones:

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About a hundred years, in Switzerland a place called Stanz their was opened a school in a convent. The people in Stanz were poor themseleves and could not pay much to support the school. The school consisted of one room occupied by orphans who had lost their parents during a terrible, in this room they had school, ate there lunch, played, also slept. The place was taken care of by an old man who was the boys teacher. They did not like him very much because he made them learn and boys in Stanz were not compelled to go to school, but when they seen he was teaching them and doing everything for there own good they began to like this old man. He played with them in all there games and was just like a brother to them.

But a war had broke out again and one day a battle took place near Stanz and some soldiers were wounded and the only place the captain could find to put the wounded soldiers was in the school room in the convent, thus the poor boys had to leave there school room just as they were beginning to love it.

I have also classed among the 2s the papers of pupils who are able to construct fairly good sentences, but who are in the habit of repeatedly running them together.

Of the 1s it is not necessary to say a great deal, as they speak so eloquently for themselves, and represent merely an infinite variety of examples of English as it should *not* be written. On considering papers of this nature, the uninitiated will be likely to conclude that their authors, by reason of unfavorable hereditary influences, had entered this mundane sphere with brains incapable of normal development, or, by reason of unfavorable home environment, had had their intellects stunted during the pre-scholastic period. But my dear reader of the uninitiated class, I beg of you not to believe anything of the kind, but to take my word for it that in the vast majority of such cases the pre-scholastic period was innocent.

As, in most instances, the percentages in the fourth and fifth year classes were very low, it is evident that the test was too severe for these grades. Indeed, all things considered, 60 per cent of failures in the fourth year, and 40 per cent in the fifth, may be looked upon as pardonable. However, already in the sixth year some comparatively good work was done; and, judging by the general results, an allowance here of 33 per cent of failures is liberal. In the seventh grade, the failures should not have exceeded 20 per cent, and in the eighth they should have been reduced to 5 per cent. I have, indeed, in my possession at least half-a-dozen eighth year sets that are absolutely free from failures. Nevertheless, some of the sixth year sets were composed almost entirely of 1s; some of the seventh year sets contained as many as 60 per cent of them; while several eighth year sets contained 30 per cent or over, one of them running as high as 42.

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The following are illustrations of papers of this type:

About one hundred years ago in the city of Stanz in Switzerland there was a home statarted for poor boys and this school was conducted by and old man who taught them and played with them, most of these children were orphans and this school was started principally for them, it was one room where they ate there meals and slept, after they had been in the school for about one year the war broke out again and there was a battle fought near Stanz and there was a number of soldiers wounded and there was know place to put the wounded soldiers so the Commander of the army came to see the teach to tell him he would like to have the room for the wounded Soldiers and the little school was broken up and the little children had to give up there homes.

About a hundred year ago there was a school started for poor boy, the school was in Stanz Switzerland. The school was for the boy who parents were killed in a terrible war. The school was not neat or comfortable, it was in an old room of an convent, they had a kind teacher, who cooked for them and did every thing he could for them.

In Stanz the boys were not compelled to go to school, so the teacher had a hard time in getting his pupils togeather. The boy thought he was a cross teacher because he made them work, but it was for their own good, soon the boy found that he was kind to them, he used to be with them in all their games and to amuse then he tell them stories.

In the room where they had the school was not only a school room, but the boy sleept and eat and have school in the one room. This was the best school the people in Stanz could afford because they were poor themselves.

This school did not last long. In about a year a war broke out near Stanz, and several soilders were wounded. The injures were carried in to town who were care for by an officer, they looked all over for shelter but could not find it, at last the Officer came to the school room and he was very sad, he told the school teacher that they would have to give up the school for shelter for the wounded soldiers, so the school was turned into a hospital.

The boy had to leave their good home and go seeking for another.

About one hundred years ago there resisted in Stanzs in switzerland a school for poor boy who had no father and mother. This school was kept purpose for making homes for the poor boys.

The place where this school was kept was neither large or comfortable. It consisted of one large room and home. A very kind old man promised to be their teacher and also their house keeper and the little ones althought the boys did not like him at first because he made them work; but when they saw it was for their good they loved him. He taught them and played games and even told storys. But they did not stay this way long for a terrible war broke out and a battle was fought near Stanzs.

The wounded soldiers were brought to the village and the only place for them were in this school. The poor boys gave up the school they love.

In addition to 1s of the foregoing types, I have come across a great many papers that are, strictly speaking, even below zero; and, as they

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make rather interesting reading, it may not be out of place to publish a few of them here. However, while they all appear to be literary curiosities, I wish to direct attention to the fact that papers such as the following, all taken from fourth year sets, do not represent isolated cases, but are more or less representative of the work of lower classes whose averages did not exceed 5 or 6 per cent.

About one hundred years ago a boy broke, out many poor boy lost his home.
And a old man said I will be the teacher and mind the house.
This person was killed in the war.
The school only had one room,
And they never liked their teacher, because they made it to a hospital, and the poor boys loved their teacher.

About 1600 year ago it was home for Poor boy.
It was kept at the Stanz in Switzerland.
A man was the teacher, and kept the milps to give the poor boy to eat.
They thought that the man is giveing to hard work. But the man said it was for thier own stake.
After they were sheltred in war they broke open the home and maid a hostipal.
The man learn them game and read book for them to make them happier.
They stoud one year in the little home.

"I am going to say a story and I am going to," asked you one.
A hundred years ago children lost their parents in the Stanz Switzerland. They were poor and had no home. They went to school where they could sleep, and an old man used to teach them to read. The children did not like to stay in the school, but they gave them a room where they sleep, school and meal and sheletered themselves. Afterward they went to a house called the hospels, and the poor children did not like to stay in one room, but the man teach then to read, write and sing. Afterward the children became happener and were friend.

A school for poor boy's About a hundred years ago there was a war where many people got killed in war And a man bluit a school for poor boy's and many people got killed and some boy's never had a mother or a father and so they went to school and after a boy told the man in school that it ought to go to a hosipel and so they all left school and they thanket the man for the school."

I am going to tell a story about one of our own.
About two hundred years ago in Stanza Switzerland there was a school room. It was large and comfortable. There was a terrible war and the teacher had trouble teaching them. A man who was fond of children one day he said there were two orphans. About a year there was a terrible war. They called many wounds soldiers and it was a war.
The school became a very large hosiptal and children lost their parents by war.

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A man consist of a great many folks and they companion. They had a oparns house and they thought it was there home. The childrens afterwards were glad and had no trouble more.

There were poor boys which they have lost their parents and they go to a small school in Switzerland. So they eat dirnk and slept and even the teacher eat, drank and slept. Nearly two hundrend years ago there was a small school in Switzerland and that school was for poor boy's. And it told the whole room to write a story about a schol for poor boy's and it told us to write it with ink and write it neat. At first they didn't like to go to school then he thought them something in school. And then they liked school and they had to stay with the teacher.

About one hundred years ago there was a Stanz in Switzerland and there were a lot of poor boy in that Stanz that had no parents they went to war and the poor children had to go to that Stanz and that stanz was made into every thing

And the man who had charge of it was a very nice man he use to play with them and the teacher had hard work to get the boy's in to learn

And they did not like him and after a time their heard that is was for their good so the work for him and obeyed him

So not long after their was a war broke out and waght near the stanz and the officer of their army said I know only one place and that was the Stanz was made into a hospital and wounded soldiers was in there and the boor children hard to leave their home wich they like it very well. it was all occant of the soldier their had to leave there home

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After one hundred year ago there is in Switzerland a little school for poor boys. It was put on for purpose until the dureful war. It was meater large or comfortable. For the boys how had lost their plarnes in the dreadful war. It was keep by an old man in a room connection. First they did not like him because he made them work and he learned them how to play games and tell stories and them they love him. Then another war broke out an a number of soldiers were brang in the room connectent. The officers that were in the war brang this soldiers and then it was made a hosipal, and the children would not stay no longer.

Nearly 100 year ago in town of Stanz on Switzerland there ofen a little school for the poor boys that they last they parent with a trowble war. And they us to go the school every day and they had they neatl in the little roon of the house school. But often a while they love they master and they obley in and then became to made a battle and they had a big war of soldiers that the school had to be change into hospital that the little poor boys had to do the little home for they self.

I am goning to Read you a stor hunded yeaer a gon.
Thay was in Stanz was waler and the chelden pares got celt in the waler and they din have now school to gon to and after thay was lettle school open? And it was one room the school and thay take the meyls in the same room in Switzerland and the chelden den like the teacher but after thay fan out that. He was doing it for ther

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sak the chelden began the like him He was gan hope then in the gam and ever thing that He cund do? Not a yaer after a nother waler brok out ner biy in Switzerland. And then thay was wonded solid thay was onty one plays to breing them to the old convet school and then it was twon to and horsepoilt and then the chelden was tuon out of ther home? And the solid was in it?

Having illustrated my system of marking, I shall now direct the reader's attention to the results, which are given in Table I. A glance at that table will show that in the fourth year the grade averages have varied between 15.5 per cent and zero; in the fifth year, between 23.7 and 5.1; in the sixth, between 36.8 and 12.7; in the seventh, between 46.5 and 15.7; and in the eighth, between 76.2 and 29.4. Taking the figures just as they stand, we find that the best fourth year work was as good as the poorest seventh, and the best fifth year work not far below the poorest eighth.

But the percentages given in the table tell less than the whole truth, because they merely represent the work of a grade as a whole, while in most schools each grade is composed of several individual classes, sometimes as many as five. Taking the averages of individual classes, we naturally find the extreme variations to be still greater: Fourth grade, 22.5 to zero; fifth grade, 35.0 to 2.0; sixth grade, 46.2 to 5; seventh grade, 52.2 to 8.5; and eighth grade, 76.2 to 19.0. When the figures are examined from this narrower point of view, we see that the best fourth year work was better than the poorest eighth.

But, taking a very broad survey, and comparing the averages obtained in all the grades of the first six schools in Table I with those obtained in all the grades of the last six, *i.e.*, comparing the schools comprising the first quarter of the table with those comprising the last quarter, we find a difference in favor of the former of almost two school years. The figures follow (Table II):

TABLE II.

Grade	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.
6 highest	12.7	18.9	32.4	44.2	64.0
6 lowest	3.9	9.3	14.6	23.4	33.6

The results given in Table II are the more remarkable in that, comparatively speaking, they show the conditions in language to be almost identical with those that were found in arithmetic, where the highest six schools of the eighteen examined were two school years ahead of the lowest five. In view of the fact that recent educational discus-

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sion has dealt so largely with plans and methods of shortening the course of training from the elementary school up through the university, the lesson taught by my tests in arithmetic and language should not be entirely overlooked.

The figures are certainly striking, and the conclusion to be drawn from Table II cannot be doubted except on the ground that my system of marking had not been carefully applied in practice. That the system may be misapplied I do not hesitate to admit. The difficulty does not lie with the typical cases, which are distinctive enough, but with the papers that lie so close to the border line between 4 and 3, or 3 and 2, etc., that it is not easy to decide whether to give them the higher or the lower mark. What I have endeavored to do in such instances has been to remain on the safe side by marking the strong sets hypercritically and giving the weaker ones the benefit of the doubt.

However that may be, to allay all doubt, even after the second marking had been completed, I decided to subject the whole system to a test which would be conclusive. This test lay in taking in hand certain individual sets of different degrees of excellence, as shown by the class averages, and arranging the papers in such a way that they would follow each other in the order of merit, from the first to the last. This arrangement then gave me an opportunity to compare the individual papers of sets having high percentages with those of sets having low percentages. The method was an extremely laborious one, but the effort was well repaid, as it really served to dispel all doubt. For an accurate comparison of two sets of papers by this method, it is necessary to compare the papers of different parts of these sets, on a scale down; but, for general purposes, the middle one is fairly representative.

To give the reader an opportunity to judge matters for himself, I shall now place before him ten papers, the middle one of a strong and a weak set, respectively, of each of the grades from the fourth to the eighth. Moreover, this will give him an opportunity not only to note the marked difference between strong and weak work in each individual grade, but to compare the strong work of a lower grade with the weak work of a higher one. The latter form of comparison will show that the work of a strong fifth grade was unquestionably superior to that of a weak eighth. As to the contest between the strong fourth and the weak eighth, I cannot see that there has been a decided victory on either side, and I am willing to leave the matter to arbitration. However, if the former should be given just a little leeway, and the second paper above the middle one of the fourth grade compared with the second

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below the middle one of the eighth year set, the former would win by a respectable margin, as the reader will see. In order to avoid needless complications, I have selected all the poor papers in the following exhibit from schools whose pupils enjoy home surroundings at least as favorable as those enjoyed by the pupils of the school that stands second in Table I:

Middle paper from a fourth year class averaging 22.5 per cent:

A number of years ago there was a great many boys who had no parents, there parents were killed in a war.

There was an old man who took care of these children, he had a small school where they were taught many lessons, they lived, ate, and slept there.

These children were very poor but they did not seem to mind that much.

The school was a very small, and uncomfortable school, it had but one room in it.

After about a year another war broak out. this war was near Stanz. Stanz is in Switzerland. This small school was in Stanz.

The war was a sad war and many people were killed and hurt.

The children had to leave the school and it was made a hospital for the people who were hurt in the war.

Middle paper from a fourth year class averaging 6.0 per cent:

Long ago there was a school for poor boys who parents were dead in the time of a terble war in Stanz in Switzerland ladies go and can mot come out again.
There was a war near Stanz city and the soilder had to come here to stay in was the only place they could go to.
The teacher was an old man how loved children and at first the children hated hin because he made them work. but a while after they begun to love him.
There was only one room in this hospital and they had to study and eat there meal, and sleep to. the children had mo home they had to give up there loved school.

Middle paper from a fifth year class averaging 35.0 per cent:

About one hundred years ago in the little town of Stanz in Switzerland, a school was founded for some poor boys, they were orphans for their parents had been killed in great war which had taken place a long time before. The school consisted of one room in an old Convent, in which they slept, ate, and studied. Their teacher was a kind old man and offered to keep house for them as well as teach them, but at first the boys did not like him for he made them study, and in those days boys were not compelled to go to school. But when they found out that he was doing it for their own good they began to love him, he not only helped them with their studies, but joined in their games and told them stories.

One day a war brok out and a battle was fought near Stanz, many soldiers were wounded, and the only shelter they could get was in the room in the old Convent where the boys lived. When the Captian told the teacher, the teacher turned the school room into a hospital and the boys had to leave the home they had learned to love so well.

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Middle paper from a fifth year class averaging 10.0 per cent:

About a hundred years ago there lived a little boy in Stanz of Switzerland he had lost his parents and he went to a little house where lots of other poor children were to.

There was an old man who loved children and he would teach them. At first the children did not like the man, but after a while they began to like him better.

After they had finished this work they would go out and play and some times the man would play with them to.

The old house was a convent and it was used by the poor boys as a school, eating and sleeping all in the same room.

One day a was broke out near Stanz and some of the men were wounded, and that house was the only place the soldiers could get shelter. so the oficer took the men there and now it was used for a hospitle, and the poor boys had to seek shelter for them selfs.

Middle paper from a sixth year set averaging 41.5 per cent:

About a hundred years ago there was a school started in the city of Stanz in Switzerland. It was for boys whose parents had been killed in the war.

There was a man who was their teacher and their housekeeper. They had only one room and in that they slept, studied and ate their meals. He was their companion and was always with them he not only helped them with their tasks but joined them in their plays and told them stories.

At first he had hard work to get very many scholars as children were not made to go to school in those days.

They hadn't been in the school but about a year when another war broke out. The captain wanted some place to put the wounded soldiers and he couldn't find any place but the schoolhouse. He was very sorry but he kindly asked the school-teacher if he could have it and so they had to give it up so they could use it for a hospital.

Middle paper from a sixth year set averaging 17.0 per cent:

About a hundred years ago in a little town in Switzerland called Stanz there were a lot of boys who's parents had [did] died in a terrible war.

The people of Stanz were poor so they could not give these boys a home finally the thought they could send them to an old comvent for a school.

This school was neither large or comfortable, they had a single room in this the ate stuided and slept.

They were placed in charge of a kind old man who loved children, he said he would keep house for them, so the children were sent here to school.

But they had hardly been there a year when war broke out again and a battle was fought near Stanz and a lot of wounded soldiers were brought into stanz, the officer in charge found that the only place they could be brought was this school room so the boys were oblidged to give up the home they had learned to love so well.

Middle paper from a seventh year set averaging 45.0 per cent:

About one hundred years ago there was an old schoolhouse in a convent in Stanz, Switzerland. In this schoolhouse there was only one room, it was given as a schoolroom, sleepingroom and lunchroom for poor boys whose parents were killed

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during war. There was an old man who was very fond of children, and took the place as teacher and companion.

At this time they were not compelled to go to school, and it was very hard to make them study.

When they were in not quite a year war broke out, and as there was no other place for the wounded soldiers the schoolhouse was given to them, but the officer asked the teacher in a very kind manner, and the children had to give up their home they loved so well.

So out of this old schoolhouse, there was a home for the wounded and dying soldiers.

Middle paper from a seventh year set averaging 19.1 per cent:

Once upon a time about one hundred years ago there was a war near a city named Stany, Switzerland. All the people when war broke out enlisted. After the war many fathers and mothers were killed and there were a large number of orphans.

So the city gave the a convent were they could go to school and learn. It was give to a good kind-hearted old man who was very fond of children.

It was not a very comfortable place. But it had to do because the people were not very rich.

After it was started and the schoolmaster put them to work they began to dislike him. But after they found out that he was doing it for their good they began to like him.

In those days boys and girls do not go to school but work. So it was hard for the school-master to get them to work.

In this schoolhouse the children cooked, selpt, and study all in the same room.

After a while a war broke out near Stanz and a number of soldiers were killed and wounded. But those who were wounded had no place to go but to go to this little school house in Stanz. So this little convent was made in a hospital.

Middle paper from an eighth year set averaging 75.0 per cent:

About a hundred years ago there existed in Stanz, a town in Switzerland, a little school. This school was provided for a number of poor boys, who had lost their fathers in a terrible war. The only place that could be found for this purpose, was a room in an old convent. It was neither large nor comfortable as the people in Stanz were very poor, but it was the only refuge that could be had for the poor orphans.

There was a kind old man, who was very found of children and he offered to keep house and also teach the boys. As the children were not obliged to go to school in those days, the old man had a great deal of trouble to teach them. But he was very patient with them, and entered into their games, so in a short time they grew to love the old man and tried to learn their lessons, as they found it was for their own good.

If we think of having school, eating our meals and sleeping in one room we must certainly think of these little boys as heroes. The school had not been kept a year yet, when another war broke out. There was a battle fought near Stanz and a number of wounded soldiers were brought into the town. The officer in charge could find no place of shelter for them, but the little school and sadly told the old man that it would have to be turned into a hospital; and the little orphans were forced to leave the school they had learned to love so well.

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Middle paper from an eighth year set averaging 22.2 per cent:

About one hundred years ago in the little town of Stanz in Switzerland there lived a good many children who's fathers were killed in a war. In this town of Stanz there lived a man, (he was an old man) he said that he would take these children and teach them. As all the other people were poor he had to take them to an old Convent where they had but one room in which to eat, sleep, and have their school.

The old man not only taught them but played in their games with them. But as the children did not have to go to school in those days the children of this school did not like the man becaus he said that they all had to do as he said but after a time they understood that it was for their own good and so they got to like him.

But the school was not to last long becaus there was another war that broke out and one battle was fought near Stanz and when it was over the wounded soldiers were taken into Stanz and when it was found that there was no place but one to put them the children lost their schooling. Becaus the only place to make a hauspittle was the one little room in the Convent wher the children had their school.

Two above middle paper of fourth year set averaging 22.5 per cent:

About 100 years ago there existed a small school for orphan's whose parents were kill in war. The school consisted of one room in the Convent. It was not very comforttabel. This school was in Stanz a city in Switzerland.

An old kind man took care of these children and was thier school master. At first the children did not like there master becase he made work. But after awhile they began to see how much good it did to them.

But the children did not stay even a year. Another war broke out near Stanz. The capten brought some wounded soldiers to Stanz. The only place he could keep them in, was the school in the convent. The poor boys never knew how they liked home and master till they had to leave the home. The captain came to the old man and asked if he could have the school. So the school was turned into a Hospital for the wounded Soldiers.

Two below middle paper of eighth year set averaging 22.2 per cent:

About one hundred years ago in the town of Stanz there were alot of poor boys who had neither mother nor father. They had lost them in war. Now it came about that these poor boys should have a school. So in the town of Stanz there was a convent and it only had one room in it. Well the people thought that this room would do becaus the people themselves were very poor.

This class room was neither larg nor comfortable but anyway the people were even glad for this. The man who had charge of the school was an old man but he was very fond of children. He had a very hard time in teaching these children for their were never in school befor. The old man promised to teach and live with the children. He was like a father to them. They had to sleep and eat and study in the same room.

He would play with the boys at playtime so as to make them happy and was also very kind to them.

It happen that children was not in this school no longer than a year when war broke out again. The war broke out right near Stanz and a battle was fought. There was quite a few soldiers wounded and the people were to poor to have a

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hospital. So the general seeing that the only thing to do was to go and asked to people of Stanz to let them have it. So he went and asked the old man. and he let them have it. So the only school was changed into a hospital.

Original Story.

A SCHOOL FOR POOR BOYS.

I am going to read a short story to you, and then I shall ask you to write one of your own about it.

About a hundred years ago, there existed, in the town of Stanz, in Switzerland, a little school. It had been opened for the purpose of giving a home to a number of very poor boys, who had lost their parents during a terrible war.

The place in which the school was kept was neither large nor comfortable. It consisted of a single room in an old convent; but the people of Stanz themselves were poor, and it was the best home that they could provide for these orphans.

The school was in charge of a kind old man, who was very fond of children. When it was opened, he offered to keep house for the little ones, and at the same time to be their teacher.

As children were not obliged to go to school in those days, the teacher had a great deal of trouble in getting his pupils to learn. At first they did not like him, because he made them work. But as soon as they discovered that what he did was for their own good, they began to love and obey him.

As only a single room had been given to them to live in, this one room had to be used for everything. In it they had their school, took their meals, and slept. The teacher was always with them, and acted as their companion. He not only taught them, and helped them with their tasks, but also entered into their games, and often amused them by telling them stories. Indeed, he did everything he could to make them happy and to lead them to forget how poor they were.

But it so happened that the children were not allowed to remain long under this roof. Before they had been in the house a year, war broke out again. One day a battle was fought near Stanz, and a number of wounded soldiers were brought into the town. Unfortunately, the officer who was in charge of them found that there was only one place in which they could be sheltered. It was the school-room in the convent. He then came to the teacher and sorrowfully told him what he needed. So the school-room was turned into a hospital, and the poor children were obliged to give up the little home that they had learned to love so well.

(The teacher may write on the board the words "Stanz" and "Switzerland." The children in the lower grades should be told that Switzerland is in Europe.)

Owing to the space consumed by the reproductions, I shall be unable, in the present paper, to exhaust the discussion of Table I, but shall close with a few words concerning the causes of the variations in the results obtained in the different schools, a subject that I desire to treat at length in the following issue. The items in the table bearing upon this topic are:

1. The amount of time devoted to language in the various schools;

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2. The average age of the pupils in the individual grades; and
3. The nationality and environment of the pupils.

1. As to time, the figures in the table are not to be accepted as final. They were computed from replies to printed questions distributed to the teachers after the test was taken, and are subject to revision upon closer study. But taking them temporarily just as they are—and we shall not go very far wrong by doing so—we find, as in spelling and arithmetic, that there is no direct relation between time and results, that superior results cannot be attributed to unusual pressure, or inferior results to lack of pressure. As the figures speak for themselves, it will not be necessary for me to dilate upon this point; and I merely wish to add here that as long as the same principle appears to apply to all branches investigated, we may now safely accept the proposition that if reasonable results do not follow upon a reasonable appropriation of time, the fault lies in the teaching and not in the time-table. In spelling, the time limit within which reasonable results may be expected was fixed by my data at fifteen minutes daily, and in arithmetic at forty-five minutes. In deciding upon a time limit in language, it will be necessary to consider both oral and written work; and as the whole question borders very closely upon that of methods and devices, I shall defer its discussion until the next paper.

In studying the relation of age to results in language, we find, on looking at the general averages, that, as might naturally be expected, the results rise invariably from one grade to the next. However, it will be seen that the ascent is by no means a regular one. From the fourth grade to the fifth, the advance is from 6.8 to 12.2, or 5.4 per cent; between the fifth and the sixth, the rise is from 12.2 to 23.2, or 11.0 per cent; between the sixth and the seventh, it is from 23.2 to 30.6, or 7.4 per cent; and between the seventh and the eighth, it is from 30.6 to 47.0, or 16.4 per cent. These figures look innocent enough, but I have never seen so many suggestive points crowded into so small a compass. For example, a general average of 6 per cent in the fourth grade, 12 in the fifth, and 23 in the sixth suggests the sending of a relief expedition in search of the innumerable first and second year literary prodigies who must have been blown out of their course after steering successfully out of the second grade. Again, the comparatively insignificant gain between the sixth and seventh years suggests an inquiry into the cause of the weakness in seventh year work, a weakness that was manifested in my test in arithmetic as well. And there is also an inquiry suggested by the rapid rise from the seventh to the

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eighth year, which in the general average is equal to that of any two previous years, and in the case of the second and third schools is equal to that of the three preceding years.

But leaving these points for future discussion, and comparing the results of the different schools from the standpoint of age, we find that the pupils in the schools at the lower end of the table are, on the whole, somewhat younger than those in the schools at the upper end, and that the pupils in the last school are the youngest of all. Still, these differences do not clear up the situation, because the theory of age will not hold when the individual schools are compared with one another. To cite but a single instance, the average age in the eighth grade of the second school is just the same as that in the eighth grade of the tenth school, while the results are 76.2 against 40.5.

But should not some allowance be made for the last school, in view of the fact that its pupils are the youngest? I answer, emphatically: By no means. The pupils of any given grade must be judged by the standards of that grade; and if they cannot compete with others on the same basis, they do not belong where they are. There would be no art in devising a system of promotion whereby the pupils, as a class, would be enabled to graduate from the grammar school even at the age of twelve. But would they then be grammar school graduates in the true sense of the word, or would they merely be primary school graduates bearing a grammar-school label?

2. In regard to nationality and environment, I desire to explain that the figures in the column representing the percentage of American parentage do not exhaust my data on the subject, but are intended to be merely suggestive. Knowing the stress that is generally laid upon these factors in considering results in language, I have made a rather close inquiry in regard to their different phases, and shall publish the details in a future paper.

Speaking not only from the figures in Table I, but also from other data and from my personal knowledge of the schools, my conclusion is that home environment is somewhat of a factor in the matter of written English, but by no means as important a one as it is generally supposed to be. In its favor, I am able to say that in six of the seven schools that have been classed as satisfactory, the children are largely from American homes;[1] and, of these six schools, five are distinctly "aris-

[1 The figures for the seventh school are not given in the table, but, judging by the neighborhood, I should say that the American parentage was upward of 80 per cent. Under American parentage I have classed those pupils only whose parents

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tocratic." But this point is offset by two others, which are sufficient to prove that the power to use good English in writing may be developed without special home culture, and that home culture will not in itself suffice to lead to the desired end.

As to the first of these points, it may be said that while five of the seven satisfactory schools are of the "aristocratic" type, two are not. In the second school, 71 per cent of the pupils are of American parentage, it is true; but the building is situated in a rather poor district, and the home culture is certainly not above the average. And the fourth school, it will be seen, is very largely foreign, not more than 28 per cent of the pupils coming from American homes.

In regard to the second point, it is to be noted that the home conditions are at least up to the average in the schools that rank tenth, twelfth, fourteenth, sixteenth, seventeenth, nineteenth, and twentieth. And it is of particular interest to note that the school in which the American parentage is as low as 6 per cent stands ninth, thus outranking seven schools attended by pupils whose home advantages are not inferior to those of the second school in the table.

However, taking all the pros and cons into consideration, it seems to me that a school attended largely by children of foreigners is laboring somewhat at a disadvantage, and that some allowance should be made for the handicap; but I think that a fair allowance would be 1 per cent in the school average for every 10 per cent of foreign parentage.

J. M. RICE.

are American or English and who hear no foreign language at home. If a foreign language is spoken at home, I have classed the pupils as foreign, even when both parents are American.]

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TWO ESTIMATES OF BROWNING.[1]

THE last two or three years have seen the publication of a number of books dealing critically with the achievements of the three poets whom many persons consider the chief literary ornaments of the Victorian age — Tennyson, Browning, and Arnold. All three have now been included in the new series of the "English Men of Letters." That accomplished critic, Mr. Stopford Brooke, after the lapse of eight years, has a careful, sympathetic study of Browning to set beside the excellent volume he devoted to Tennyson two years after the Laureate's death. Mr. Lang and Mr. Saintsbury have contributed to the latter's series, "Modern English Writers," studies of Tennyson and Arnold, respectively. These books, the numerous articles they have suggested, and the new editions of the works of the three poets indicate that there is no waning, but rather an increase, of popular interest in writers who were contemporary with our fathers or grandfathers.

Whatever may be the permanent value of this mass of criticism or the relative merits of the books that compose it, one is not very venturesome in affirming that it is specially significant because it gives us glimpses of the initial stages in that process of crystallization which critical opinion upon great authors must slowly undergo. The elements from which that opinion is formed are held, as it were, in solution during and immediately after the lifetime of a writer; but within a decade or two, in a critical age, it seems possible to observe traces of precipitation and of a tendency to cohere. Whether or not an application of scientific terms to a literary phenomenon be in general legitimate or in the present case correctly made does not in the least discredit the statement that the literary phenomenon exists and that it is interesting to study it.

It is now over ten years since Tennyson died, and over fifteen since his junior, Arnold, preceded him. In the case of both, it appears not

[1] Robert Browning. By G. K. Chesterton. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1903, 12mo, pp. vi., 207 [English Men of Letters].

The Poetry of Robert Browning. By Stopford A. Brooke, M.A. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell & Co., 1902, 12mo, pp. iv., 447.

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impossible to point out certain tendencies on the part of critical opinion to take definite form. It seems clear that, while FitzGerald's assertion of the superiority of the Tennyson of 1842 to the later Laureate will not be accepted in anything like its entirety, much of Tennyson's more elaborate work will either cease to be widely read or will be rated less highly than it was by his contemporaries, and that attention will be more and more directed to the splendor and beauty of his early lyrical and idyllic achievements and to his subsequent successes in the same forms. It is the poet of "Locksley Hall" and "The Lotus Eaters" rather than the poet of the later portions of "The Idyls of the King" that seems sure of both critical and popular homage. Again, it looks as if critics were beginning to perceive that a tone of general disparagement with regard to Tennyson's dramas is unjust to those remarkable experiments and that any disposition to regard him as primarily superficial and conventional, in other words, to deny him real depth and power of thought, is rather wide of the mark. It is needless to add that the passage of time has served to emphasize the classical qualities of Tennyson's art, and to develop the conviction that his generation was not mistaken in hailing him as its representative poet.

In the case of Arnold, also, a certain trend of critical opinion may be noted, particularly with regard to the increased emphasis laid upon his poetry as compared with his prose. Its finish, its penetrating power, its importance as an expression of spiritual unrest, its remarkable uniformity of excellence and not inconsiderable variety, its deficiencies in spontaneity, copiousness, and wide appeal are becoming clearer to us all year by year. It is easy to see that his two latest English critics of importance turn with something like regret to his years of comparative poetic sterility, while it strikes one as curious to find an acute American critic apparently emphasizing his prose as though his final reputation would depend mainly on that. Nor is the process of critical differentiation less marked in the case of Arnold's prose. A new edition of his writings is just announced; but it is safe to predict that few of its purchasers will concern themselves as seriously with his religious and political lucubrations as they would have done twenty years ago. It would have been most surprising, of course, if his literary criticism had not more or less eclipsed his brilliant, but erratic, performances in other fields of thought, especially as the generation that looks back with gratitude to Arnold, thanks partly to the books that are losing their interest, is in some respects less conservative, not to say philistine, than that which he delighted to shock.

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But can what has just been asserted of Tennyson and Arnold be also asserted with any justice of Browning? Is criticism of that perplexing genius a whit less chaotic than it was during his lifetime? It would be a rash person who should give a very positive answer in the affirmative; yet if we may judge from the books of Mr. Brooke and Mr. Chesterton and from the fact that Browning Societies are a little less in evidence than they used to be, we may perhaps hazard a hesitating "Yes." Browningites we still have among us, and probably shall have for many a year to come; and the mass of readers, even if they now speak of Browning with respect, still associate his poetry with enigmas or with mathematical problems. But between the idolaters and the conservative public that looks askance at the new divinity stands a slowly, but steadily, growing body of men and women who, while they would be dissatisfied with any designation less warmly appreciative than admirers, nevertheless reserve the right to apply at least some standards to the work of a man regarded by them as a great poet, and at the same time regret, not unsympathetically, the spirit of aloofness and distrust still so generally displayed toward him. Somewhere among these discriminating admirers of Browning, and not among the enthusiasts who deify him or the scoffers and doubters who will none of him, may be found most of the critics who have of late run the risk of giving us estimates of the poet and his work; and this fact alone would warrant us in believing that the thirteen years since Browning's death have at least slightly clarified critical judgment with regard to him.

Perhaps the most important advance marked by recent Browning criticism is to be found in the increased insistence upon the strictly poetical side of his work. His appreciative critics may and do differ widely in their concrete judgments as to this or that poem. Mr. Brooke, for example, believes that when the matured poet wrote "Prince Hohenstiel-Schwangau" and "Red Cotton Night-Cap Country," his poetry suffered because "nature had ceased to awaken the poetic passion in him"; because the interest of his poetry began to lie "in the narrow realm of intellectual analysis." Mr. Chesterton, on the contrary, thinks that these two poems rank among the "finest" of Browning's performances, and seems to give to the term "poetry" a broader scope than Mr. Brooke is willing to allow. But the main point is that both the older and the younger critic are agreed in demanding poetry from Browning, not philosophy, or theology, or utilitarian interpretations of art and conduct. Both wish to read Browning primarily for æsthetic pleasure, and not, save indirectly, for moral and intellectual profit.

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This means that both have their faces set against the typical Browningite. Mr. Chesterton, indeed, does not weary of berating him, although the average reader, after perusing some of the critic's admiring utterances with regard to many peculiarly Browningesque poems, might be tempted to look upon the brilliant essayist as a Browningite in disguise, who is trying to discredit those of his fellow-enthusiasts with whose opinions he does not agree. Such a suspicion would be unjust to Mr. Chesterton, for he is clearly, though not so clearly as Mr. Brooke, differentiated from those perfervid apologists for everything Browning wrote who have earned themselves the glory or the obloquy that attaches to the undiscriminating disciple. Both our critics discriminate, and have no hesitation in asserting that Browning's art was frequently at fault. The true Browningite either sees no artistic flaws at all, or devotes his energy to showing that they really do not matter in view of the profound intellectual and ethical value of the master's work. Mr. Brooke and Mr. Chesterton may differ as to where and why Browning is obscure; but they do not insult the common sense of humanity by denying that he is frequently difficult and sometimes impossible to comprehend.

In other words, it begins to look as if Browning criticism were no longer under the control of the framers of handbooks and introductions to a mysterious tract of literature, of the compilers of Browning cyclopædias, and of the authors of elaborate dissertations upon the "Digression in Sordello" and other such abstruse topics. Browning's glory will always be somewhat obscured by light mists springing from the rich soil of his genius; but there is reasonable hope that the clouds of smoke sent up by the commentary factories erected on every available spot in the spacious domain of his "Collected Works" will in time be dissipated. The lapse of years seems to be making it more and more certain that Browning is to be enrolled among England's greatest and most original poets, and not among her too numerous literary monstrosities. Time has few greater boons to give a people than the establishing of a noble poet's fame, even if his works, in whole or in part, fail to attain general currency.

Turning now to the books before us, we have no occasion to be surprised if we find Mr. Chesterton's the more entertaining and suggestive, and Mr. Brooke's the more solid and valuable. The younger man is epigrammatic to a fault, but he is very readable, and, what is better, he makes one think while one reads. He too frequently calls attention to his own originality by remarking that the point he is making has curiously escaped the attention of others; but he leaves little doubt in our

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minds that he is almost as original as he proclaims himself. Like nearly all epigrammatic and self-consciously original writers, he has the defects of his qualities to an excessive degree. His epigrams are far too numerous and often too cheap; but they scarcely descend to flippancy, and perhaps not at all to impertinence. This is but to say that Mr. Chesterton's undue attention to the manner in which he says things has not prevented him from giving honest thought to his subject. He treats Browning seriously, and does not peck at him or indulge in flippant remarks about him, as has happened in the case of Matthew Arnold. Perhaps, as he grows older, he will do his clever form of writing better by not appearing to do it at all.

As for his originality, that, too, as nearly always, has its pitfalls for him. Being essentially an essayist, he is continually forgetting that a contributor to the "English Men of Letters" is expected to be more of a biographer and a critic. It is true that Browning's life, save for his romantic love-affair, to the dignity of which Mr. Chesterton fairly rises, does not furnish much that is salient or specially adapted to a biographer's purposes; but more details about his books, his friends, his travels were accessible and would have been acceptable. One is much obliged to Mr. Chesterton for his insistence upon the essential simplicity of Browning's character as a man, and upon his inability, for all his foreign sympathies, to shake off the characteristic social and other prejudices of a middle-class Englishman; but one would have liked more illustration of the point and less comment upon it. Again, Mr. Chesterton seldom touches upon a particular poem of Browning's without saying something original and often something striking about it; but he rarely gives one the impression that he has endeavored to survey his subject from every legitimate point of view.

For example, the chapter which, with little attention to the scheme of his volume, he devotes entirely to "The Ring and the Book" makes the excellent points that "it is the great epic of the nineteenth century, because it is the great epic of the enormous importance of small things," and "because it is the expression of the belief, it might almost be said of the discovery, that no man ever lived upon this earth without possessing a point of view." It was well to emphasize these features of Browning's masterpiece, and nearly everything that Mr. Chesterton says in illustration of them is good; but he cannot so easily get away from positive charges brought against the poem. Critics may not have seen with sufficient clearness the points he makes; but this does not excuse him from considering whether, in much of the long poem, the

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intellect of the poet does not play a disproportionate part; whether in many pages Browning does not almost drop into prose and adopt the methods of the writer of realistic fiction. Besides, we may fairly ask of a critic who pronounces a poem a great epic that he should endeavor to make clear to us not only that an age has more or less voiced itself in the poem, but that it has done so in a way that makes the poem worthy to be ranked with similar great achievements in the past, and perhaps to be used as a model and a starting-point by poets of the future. One should not employ such a phrase as "great epic" too lightly. The indisputably great epics of the world are more or less poems of cosmopolitan currency. Is it in the least likely that "The Ring and the Book" will ever be regarded as belonging to world-literature?

But, whatever Mr. Chesterton's sins of omission as a critic, his sins of commission are apparently not serious enough to require much comment, save with regard to his tendency to be too discursive. It is well enough to remind the reader that all the arts have their conventions; but the writer of a two-hundred-page book on such a subject as Robert Browning should not be tempted to continue his reminder through three-quarters of a page. Again, Mr. Chesterton on digestion is good reading, and a great poet's optimism may somewhat depend on the condition of his digestive apparatus; but the topic scarcely requires about a page and a half for its discussion. The space saved might have been given advantageously to the inadequate discussion of "Sordello," or, better still, to some critical treatment of "A Blot in the 'Scutcheon," which appears in both the text and the index as "A Blot *on* the 'Scutcheon," and is dismissed as a "very fine play"; our author passing on to discuss Browning's relations with Macready and the light they throw on the former's character. We have already desiderated more of this sort of thing from the biographer; but surely no amount of it could take the place of a careful consideration of the play, especially of the criticism that pronounces its chief characters overstrained and its situations repulsively unnatural.

It is through just such shirking of the functions of the critic and overindulgence in the privileges of the essayist that Mr. Chesterton, brilliant and original though he be, has seemingly failed to achieve the success that attended Sir Alfred Lyall's recent attempt to do justice to the genius of Tennyson in a companion volume in the "English Men of Letters." It is true that the critic of Tennyson has a somewhat less complex task than the critic of Browning, and that he certainly does not have so many extravagantly rabid praisers or denouncers to placate;

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but the task of criticising Tennyson thus early in a sane and balanced fashion is a sufficiently difficult one to make us admire heartily Sir Alfred Lyall's very satisfactory performance. Yet his book is certainly not packed with epigrams or with novel points of view. One can easily fancy a cursory reader putting it down after Mr. Chesterton's with a distinct feeling of disappointment. The less piquantly interesting book is the better, because its author perceived clearly the demands laid upon him and, forgetting himself in his subject, sought to treat the latter as sincerely and thoroughly as his space allowed. If Mr. Paul in his book on Arnold and Mr. Chesterton in his on Browning had practised Sir Alfred Lyall's self-restraint, we should have had three notable contributions to the criticism of Victorian poetry. As it is, we have but one; yet we have in Mr. Chesterton's vivacious volume a study of a great man which deserves to be read — in some parts more than once.

As has been already said, Mr. Stopford Brooke's elaborate study of Browning is more solid and valuable than Mr. Chesterton's entertaining and stimulating essay. This is not merely because Mr. Brooke is an older and better trained critic than Mr. Chesterton, but because he, too, like Sir Alfred Lyall, subordinates the functions of the essayist to those of the critic, and treats his subject sincerely and thoroughly. His book is plainly the product of years of sympathetic reading of Browning, but not of unconnected and unaffiliated reading of him such as vitiates so much Browning criticism. Mr. Brooke, as every true critic should be, is first of all a student of literature, and then a student of periods of literary activity and of great or interesting writers. To use the language of American politics, he is for the Union first and his State and city afterward. The typical Browningite, on the other hand, is for his State or city first and last.

But, like the dyer's hand — and, indeed, like the hand and the rest of the anatomy of all other mortals — Mr. Brooke's genius is subdued to what it works in. It has long worked in all that goes to make up the environment of a popular preacher. Hence it is not surprising to find that he is a little too verbose, ebullient, and sentimental to suit some tastes. A majority of readers, on the contrary, might be inclined to regard him as eloquent and sympathetic, as gifted, although in a lower degree, with many of the best qualities of the poets he so enthusiastically praises and interprets. This means only that when Mr. Brooke errs as a critic, it is likely to be on the side of over-appreciation, which is a generous and easily pardoned fault. Probably no one who, on reading Mr. Brooke's delightful volume dealing with Old English poetry, felt that

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the modern Englishman had endowed his remote forefathers with greater capacity for poetic utterance than the race had in all probability then attained ever had a serious desire to take sharp issue with the admiring critic.

There is equally little reason to take sharp issue either with Mr. Brooke's reverential attitude toward Browning or with his discussion of this phase of the poet's genius or of that particular poem. As we have seen, he insists upon holding Browning up to his best work as a poet, and will not yield unreserved homage to him in his capacity as a weaver of grotesque, highly intellectual subtleties in verse. He thinks that in "The Ring and the Book" Browning's delight in strictly intellectual processes got almost the better hand of his native instinct to treat man and nature, but especially the former, in a truly poetic fashion, and that after the appearance of the wonderful story in verse, Browning's impulse to poetize was more and more eclipsed by his impulse to analyze. Thus viewed, the poetry of Browning tends to divide itself, as that of so many other great poets does, into the immature, but promising, work of his early years, the successful, distinctive work of his prime, and the still notable, but not wholly satisfactory, work of his period of slow decline. Although neither Mr. Brooke nor any one who more or less accepts his point of view would think of limiting the flowering period of Browning's genius quite so narrowly as some critics are inclined to limit that of Tennyson, it still remains true that it is possible for competent critics and readers to set aside a considerable part of the later work of both poets, and to base their admiration upon masses of powerful and charming short poems rather than upon elaborate performances which the poets themselves strove hard to make masterpieces. This is equivalent to saying that criticism such as Mr. Brooke's tends to put a quietus upon the injudicious attempts of some devoted souls to speak of Tennyson in the same breath with Milton or of Browning in the same breath with Shakespeare. It tends to relegate both poets to the class of great poets of national or racial, but scarcely of world, importance, who have written scores of excellent or even noble poems, but could never compass a sustained masterpiece like "Paradise Lost."

This coupling of the names of Tennyson and Browning is much more characteristic of Mr. Brooke's book than of Mr. Chesterton's. The latter justly conceived his main concern to be with Browning, and perhaps he belongs to the class of persons that take little pleasure in literary comparisons, even if they do not violently resent them as savoring of impertinence. Mr. Brooke, however, was writing a companion vol-

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ume to his study of Tennyson; and it was natural and proper that he should devote his first chapter to a careful comparison of the two poets so strangely dissimilar in genius and in their relations with the British public, yet now joined inseparably as twin inheritors of renown. Perhaps, without disparaging his excellent chapters on Browning's treatment of nature, his theory of human life, his achievements as a poet of art, his "imaginative representations" — the name Mr. Brooke gives to such poems as "Cleon" and "The Bishop Orders his Tomb" — his portrayal of womanhood, his poems of the passion of love, and those wonderful creations known as "Sordello" and "The Ring and the Book," it may be permissible to doubt whether anywhere in his good study Mr. Brooke proves himself a better critic than in the chapter in which he is bold enough to contrast Browning and Tennyson, to point out the influences that went to their making, their differing ideals of art, their varying appeals, and their respective claims to the homage of future generations.

The impression left by Mr. Brooke's chapter, so far as concerns the ultimate ranking of the two poets, is decidedly in favor of Tennyson. "Tennyson is the closest to human nature in its noble, common, and loving forms, as Browning is the closest to what is complex, subtle, and uncommon in human nature." The appeal to a special class, strong though it be in Browning's case, marks, not the poet's "superiority of rank, but his inferiority." The greatest poets — Dante for instance — are loved by high and low. Tennyson and Browning are far below the universal poets, but Tennyson is the nearer to them. "The highest work which poetry can do is to glorify what is most natural and simple in the whole of loving human nature, and to show the excelling beauty, not so much of the stranger and wilder doings of the natural world, but of its every-day doings and their common changes." Such, in a measure, was the view Tennyson took of his mission. Browning did not altogether relish this view of the highest functions of poetry, as he indicates in "Sordello," being, Mr. Brooke thinks, conscious that for such work he was not well equipped.

Whether he was thus conscious of his limitations or not, and whether or not his perfervid admirers admit these limitations, we may be fairly sure that a majority of mankind will agree with Mr. Brooke as to the essential qualities of the highest poetry, and will find more of these in Tennyson than in Browning, despite the many and obvious limitations of the former. The power, the vitality, the range of Browning's genius should not obscure for us the fact that it stands more remote from the lines of general literary development than Tennyson's,

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and that the history of literature teaches us that the greatest masters have stood in the line of development. It was not for nothing that Shakespeare received lessons at the hands of Marlowe, and that Milton was proud to own himself a poetical son of Spenser. It was not for nothing that Tennyson, during the decade that preceded the publication of the two volumes of 1842, devoted himself to a study of the best poetic masters of the classics and of his own literature. During those same years Browning also studied deeply things a poet ought to know — the human soul and history and art — but for some reason or other, perhaps because he was too full and original a genius, he scarcely abode for an appreciable time in the pupil stage. Many of his students and admirers impute this to him for a glory and not for a defect; and perhaps they are right if a fit audience, though few, is an adequate reward for the lifetime devotion of a splendid and unique genius to the art of its choice. But others, loving Browning's best poetry intensely and seeing in the man a truly noble character and range of powers, will regret that, while his fame is apparently secure, his work in the mass seems likely to inspire the few rather than the many; that it will continue to repel or to attract with undue violence; that even its most admirable portions will only with some difficulty win their way into the treasure chamber in which the English-speaking peoples preserve the most priceless of the possessions that time has left them.

W. P. TRENT.

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THE ADMINISTRATION OF PUBLIC SCHOOL SYSTEMS.

THE school system of a city is a business organization of great magnitude and immense importance. It is a municipal enterprise through which the people, in combination, undertake to furnish the means of education for their children. It is an example of social control and centralization which is accepted now almost without question, and yet it involves the most vital interests of the individual and of the family. Upon its efficiency depend in a large measure the well-being and the proper upbringing of the coming generation, and hence the safety and perpetuity of the self-governing state.

In view of these facts, it seems strange that it should ever be necessary to emphasize the importance of a wise, capable, and honest administration of school affairs; and yet there is no need more crying at the present time. The school administration of most cities falls so far short of the very plain and simple principles here mentioned as to be absolutely, recklessly, and dreadfully incompetent. In general, it is safe to say that school affairs are so badly administered that any private or corporate business so managed would fail. The evil is not due wholly to the presence of inefficient or dishonest men on school boards. It is largely due to bad methods, many of them traditional, having originated when school systems were small affairs and never having since been changed.

It is true that the business of school administration has no end in itself: its excellence is to be measured by the character of the education furnished the children. Yet it is a matter of consequence to the public that public business be honestly and economically administered. No intelligent citizen can view with equanimity the waste of money raised by taxation — whether the waste is through dishonesty or bad business methods — even if in the end the public be fairly well served. Moreover, it is fair to assume that, on the whole, an enlightened and business-like administration will make for better public service than one lax and unintelligent. As applied to schools this means that fairly good schools are sometimes found under the most corrupt and loose administration.

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But this does not indemnify the public for the peculation and waste of public money. Besides, the chances of having good schools would certainly be increased by an improvement in administration.

To convey some notion of the importance of a school system as a business enterprise, let me give some figures indicating the amounts of money handled by school boards in some of our cities. The figures I give are taken from the latest available reports, most of them covering the school year 1900–1901:

San Francisco	$1,290,000	New York	$38,756,368
Baltimore	1,239,348	Pittsburg	2,083,803
Boston	4,263,492	Cincinnati	1,259,424
Cleveland	1,993,966	Buffalo	1,502,571
Philadelphia	4,667,860	St. Louis	2,037,026
Detroit	1,634,576	Chicago	13,258,528

In all these cities there are probably a few business corporations — very few — that handle as much money as the board of education. Some of these are doubtless successful. How are such concerns organized? Unquestionably, in all cases, there is a board of directors, usually thoroughly familiar with the business, actively engaged in it, and voting upon important propositions. That is the extent of their control. They put in charge certain general officers who are expected to carry the business to a successful issue, who are held responsible for results, and who are given almost absolute authority. The board of directors never goes beyond legislation. The execution of its decisions is left wholly to the executive officers, and they have large discretion besides. Mr. Corey, for instance, is not only absolute as an executive, but very largely shapes the policy of the corporation. The appointment of subordinates, the regulation of the various employees, the assignment of duties and promotions, in fact, the details of the business are directed and controlled by the executive officers.

How is this sort of thing commonly managed in schools? First, there is a board of education corresponding to the board of directors of a private corporation. In very many cities this board is very large, in some cases as large as seventy. It is divided into numerous committees, as many as can be devised, in order, if possible, to give each member a chairmanship. These committees combine, in an indescribable and confusing way, legislative and executive duties. One committee hires all the janitors; another buys all supplies of a certain kind; another supervises high schools; another provides the instruction in German; another provides the instruction in manual training; another

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decides upon and purchases text-books; another employs teachers; and so on, *ad infinitum*. The men holding positions as chairmen and members of the committees are selected from all walks of life, commonly the lower, and often with absolutely no knowledge of the subjects assigned to their committees. They proceed to pass upon all kinds of subjects, even those requiring expert and technical knowledge, with the wisdom of owls and the fatuity of the ostrich, and then to put their decisions into execution.

I have heard discussions upon such technical subjects as ventilation and school hygiene by members of a school board who attempted both to legislate and to carry their decisions into execution, which discussions, if exactly quoted, would make the success of any vaudeville theatre. I had once the experience of seeing cooking and sewing put out of the schools of the city in which I was superintendent, because I had unwisely called the subjects "domestic economy," and the members of the board did not know what the term meant. It is not uncommon for even respectable, honest, and thoroughly well-meaning people to do the most absurd and injurious things as the result of the methods of organization and administration which put upon them duties for which they are wholly unfit. I have known men to be placed upon committees, with the duty of selecting text-books to be used in schools, who could scarcely write their names, much less intelligently read the text-books submitted. I have known others to be members of committees on courses of study, though they could scarcely distinguish Webster's spelling-book from a Greek alphabet. I have known upon committees charged with the duty of building school-houses costing many thousands of dollars men who have never been able to make a respectable living, and could not properly supervise the construction of a hen-coop. The system of organization requires that important executive duties be put in the hands of committees of the board; and since the people have seen fit to place upon the board ignorant and incompetent men, and since all the members of the board must be placed upon some committee, this foolish distribution has taken place. The cases I have cited are by no means extreme; indeed they are very moderate, because I have spoken only of those upon whose honesty of purpose no doubt could be cast.

It is true that most school systems have executive officers, but too often they are nothing more than head clerks. They are given very little power of discretion; they hold their positions for very short terms, or at the will of the board; and they are simply unable to exercise any

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great influence upon school affairs. The average board of education is afraid of experts.

Now, how should a system be organized for efficiency? A school system divides itself naturally into two parts, the educative and the business. Under the head of business come the raising of money and its care and expenditure; the building of school-houses; their repair and the caring for them when built; the appointment of janitors and other subordinates; the purchasing of supplies — in short, the term defines itself, and it is clearly enough distinct from the educative work of the school board. This latter includes the appointment of teachers; the selection of courses of study; the supervising of instruction; the management of the internal affairs of the schools; the solution of the problems of discipline, gradation, promotion, and the like.

Both of these departments further divide themselves into the legislative and the executive. Such a division is recognized in all governments and in all large business enterprises. In both the business and the educational departments, the school board naturally, and of necessity, is the legislative body. The school board is elected by the people to record its will just as the legislatures of the State or nation are elected by the people to record its will. It is the province of the school board to determine what the school shall teach, and what appliances shall be furnished. Any system of organization which attempts to take this power from the people's representatives and locate it in some other authority is wrong. The people, after all, are the final arbiters, and it is for them to decide what shall be done with their children. They voice this decision through their elected representatives, namely, the board of education; but this right of the people does not need to be foolishly interpreted as the bestowing of executive functions upon people unfit for them, or the expecting of expert work from men who know nothing of the subjects under consideration.

In both the educational and the business departments of school administration there should be executive officers with powers similar to those of the president of the Steel Company, men selected on account of their particular qualifications for the duties involved, and endowed with adequate authority.

The business side should have, in large cities at least, a business manager — a man of financial and business training, who should be the general head of all the business. That is, he should let contracts for furnishing supplies and for building school-houses; he should have entire charge of the janitorial force; he should be able to employ archi-

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tects and other specialists whenever needed; he should be responsible for keeping the buildings in repair; he should see that the funds of the board are properly cared for; in short, he should be the business executive.

On the educational side, the superintendent of schools should be such executive. It goes without saying that the school superintendent should be an educational expert; that is, he should be a well-educated man in the common sense, preferably a university graduate. He should have had experience in teaching, and to some extent in supervision. He should be a student of education in both the theoretical and the practical sense. He should be sufficiently a man of affairs to be able to advise the board as to the needs of school-houses and school appliances; he should, in short, be an educational expert. He should hold his office — without danger of removal, except for serious dereliction — for a sufficiently long time to be able to demonstrate his organizing ability and the value of his educational notions, and he should be held responsible for the general educational results within the schools. That he may be held so responsible, he should be given the requisite authority. This authority should include the right to appoint all teachers and subordinate officials on the educational side, such as supervisors and principals, subject to the approval of the board of education. He should have the power to suspend and remove all such employees for cause — which term should include inefficiency as well as insubordination or moral fault — still subject to the approval of the board and to proper civil service laws. He should have the power, after proper consultation with his associates, to prepare and administer courses of study and to select text-books for use in the schools; and he should be the final authority in matters relating to methods of instruction, school discipline, gradation, promotion, and the like. The powers and duties of these executive officers should be fixed by law.

It seems strange that it should be necessary even to present such a statement as this. In a large business concern no other plan would be considered for a moment. Imagine the directors of a railroad attempting, in solemn assembly, to appoint all brakemen, buy the lubricating oil, and give orders for the printing of tickets; going personally to Podunk or Painted Post to see whether a plank was needed in the station platform; and then looking around for some political or personal friend to whom could be given the job of putting it in. Imagine them endeavoring to solve the intricacies of a time sheet, or insisting upon being consulted when it became necessary to sidetrack a freight train. Yet these actions would be scarcely more absurd than the ordinary

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business and educational management of school boards working through subcommittees.

The theory underlying the management of most public affairs is wholly different from that underlying the management of private or corporate affairs. That of the latter is that it is necessary to be able to fix responsibility; that men in executive positions must be given authority in order that they may be held responsible for results. The theory, apparently, and in many cases certainly, underlying the organization of public business is that it is best to avoid the possibility of fixing responsibility. Many public officials do not like to be held responsible — naturally, and with evident reason — and public business is so organized as to enable the guilty or incompetent to escape detection, because no one is responsible.

Our cities have school superintendents whose powers vary from those of a chief clerk to those of an autocrat in matters educational. In some cases, considerable powers are given the superintendent by law; more frequently what power he has is conferred by the school board, and may be curtailed at any time. Few cities have any business manager at all; so that, even where the educational side is looked after by an expert with authority, the business is still managed in the same old wasteful way by subcommittees.

In a few cities the superintendent has adequate powers. In Cleveland, Ohio, under the law which has unfortunately been pronounced unconstitutional, the superintendent was really the head of the educational system. In New York City, the superintendent is the head of the educational system, with vast power. In Rochester, New York, he has very considerable and important powers, enough to make it possible to fix responsibility. In Chicago, an effort made before the present legislature to confer considerable powers upon the superintendent failed through the force of political and clerical opposition. In Buffalo, the superintendent has much power, but, unfortunately, is elected at a general election by the people, which, of course, weakens his real authority. In Newark, New Jersey, the superintendent has practically no statutory power, but has an indefinite tenure of office, which strengthens his hands greatly. In St. Louis, the superintendent has much authority given by law.

In several cities, such as Kansas City, Springfield, Massachusetts, Minneapolis, Indianapolis, and Boston, the superintendent has much greater authority given him by the school board than is made compulsory by the statute. This in some cases is the result of strong

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public sentiment controlling the school board. In some cases it is because the school-board members are weary of details of work which they do not comprehend. Such wholesome and profitable weariness is usually due to a reduction in the size of the school board; the members finding that they cannot, even for their own political advantage, give so much time to schools as the performance of many executive duties would require. But quite generally throughout the country, the school board or committee keeps very carefully in its own hands all the power, both legislative and executive.

In most cities the school superintendent is the board's adviser on the educational side, exerting more or less influence, according to his personal power. He has no statutory authority, and little definitely delegated by the board. It is simply a question of personal influence. Even under such circumstances some school superintendents practically control school administration; but in all such cases it is purely a case of personal triumph, and, if there chance to come a change of superintendents, the new man finds himself in a very equivocal position indeed. It is evident that, since the powers of the superintendents in these cases are merely delegated by the school board and are not statutory, their permanence is very uncertain; and at any time when an ambitious school-board member becomes jealous of the power exerted by the school superintendent, that power comes to an end, since it is always easy to appeal to prejudice. Hence my contention that specific executive powers should be conferred by statute upon the school superintendent and upon the business manager.

In these same cities the business management is generally without a head and without system, its efficiency depending upon the amount of time that a committee chairman is willing or able to take from his own business for it. Even in the great city of New York, with its nearly forty millions of money annually handled by the school board, its enrolment of more than six hundred thousand children, its nearly sixty millions' worth of property, its expenditure of from six to ten millions a year on permanent improvements, and of nearly four millions on current and incidental expenses, aside from teachers' salaries, there is no business manager, and the board of education conducts most of its important transactions under the antique committee system. The city does possess a most able architect who supervises all school buildings, and also a superintendent of supplies; that is, it has several officers who should be subordinates of a business manager. To refer again to the railroad, it is like having division superintendents, general passenger agents, and

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other heads of departments, but no general manager. Yet the New York school system is vastly better organized than is the system in most of the cities; for most cities have not even these heads of departments with any authority.

In Cleveland, under the law already mentioned, the school director, an officer elected by the people, was really the business manager. His functions were clear, and the office was well filled in the main. Such an officer, however, should be appointed by the board as its agent rather than elected by the people. Under the very excellent law controlling the schools of Rochester, the superintendent has much statutory power, but there is no provision for a business manager. The present president of the board is a very able business man, and gives a great amount of time to the business end of school affairs; but it is not likely that, in case he should retire, his equal could be secured; and under those circumstances the business management would probably sink to its former level.

It is a matter of the first importance that all influences be removed from the schools except those directly connected with education. What we commonly call political influences are the bane of school affairs. We should include in this term not merely party politics, but personal politics. In so far as general policy is concerned — that is, the determination of what the schools shall do for the people — the influence of all citizens is legitimate. When it comes to the selection of individuals to carry out the wishes of the people as determined by legislation, no consideration but that of efficiency has any place whatever. Even supposing that executive duties could be efficiently performed by members of a school committee if let alone, the very fact that such members are, for political reasons, subject to all sorts of influences is enough to condemn the custom. The selection of teachers is, all things considered, by far the most important office of school authorities. That selection can never be safely trusted to even the most intelligent and honest school committees, because such committees are continually exposed to all kinds and shades of influence — political, philanthropic, church, social — all pulling for this or that applicant. In my experience the church and philanthropic societies have been more persistent and dangerous than the political organizations, and they work through and represent the best people in the community. The only safety is in having the executive duties lodged in people to whom success in school administration is vital; who are necessarily, because of professional pride and professional reputation, more interested in having good schools than in

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winning the support of any particular clique or class; and who, that they may succeed in this, are protected in their positions.

But boards of education have other important functions which require good executive control, and it is in regard to these that the public has the least protection. The school buildings erected throughout the country are estimated to cost from one-third to one-half more than if erected by private individuals or corporations. The same is true of supplies and appliances of all sorts. If the business of school boards were economically administered in the cities of the country, the money now raised would suffice for the payment of better salaries to the teachers and for supplying much needed equipment.

But granting that a school system is organized on ideal methods — are we now reasonably sure of having schools well administered? In the long run, possibly yes, but by no means continually, and by no means certainly. While it is possible to have, under ordinary circumstances, a reasonably good administration without a good plan of organization, it is impossible to have a good administration even with these unless another absolutely essential condition is supplied. In regard to schools, as in regard to all other matters in a democratic state, the final arbiter and ultimate force is an active public sentiment. I have known schools under excellent laws which, after achieving considerable success and much reputation, have sunk back into a condition of inefficiency and public obscurity, simply because public sentiment allowed the politician to use for his own ends the machinery devised for the education of the children. The schools of a certain Western city once stood high in the estimation of educational people. This was during the administration following a reform movement which produced a new law, and, even better yet, secured upon the board the very best citizens. Under the same law, within a few years, the places of these best citizens had been taken by others, some of them unknown, some of them too well known, and few of them fit for the place. The administration has become a laughing-stock or an offence to the citizens, according to the point of view, and the decline of the schools a source of grief to all who loved them, and who had formerly been proud of them. Yet the same law is to-day in force, and it is a fairly good one.

I have known school systems under exceedingly bad laws to achieve great excellence and some reputation because of the personal force of the superintendents, who were willing to face obloquy for the sake of securing good schools. The schools of one of our great Western cities, in which there have been frequent upheavals, are pushing forward into ex-

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cellence of administration and organization, and consequently of work, under the most peculiarly bad conditions. The mayor appoints and owns the school board. He is himself a politician of a not high order, but with some sense of humor, as well as of the fitness of things; and, becoming disgusted with the conditions prevailing in the schools after the removal of two strong superintendents in succession, he selected for the office of superintendent a young man unknown, but of much force, and instructed the board of education to elect him. When they began to show unrest under the new superintendent's assumption of authority, the mayor simply told the members of the school board to keep quiet and support the superintendent or they would lose their places. The result is that the schools are profiting; but if this mayor is ever defeated, his superintendent goes with him, as he is backed by nothing but the authority of the political boss who happens to be his friend.

I have urged the importance of making the powers of executive officers statutory. The need for this is seen in the fact that many superintendents who are given such powers by the school board are too timid to exercise them; knowing that a change of administration may leave them unprotected and the victims of enemies made while exercising authority. But even when the power conferred is statutory, superintendents are often afraid of hostile political influences. Only now and then is there a man willing to stand up against a political board and insist upon even his statutory rights. This must be expected until both the public and the superintendents are educated up to the right view of the position of the latter. Long years of servitude to political influences have cowed many superintendents, and have accustomed the public to look upon them as subordinates.

There is one phase of school administration which is of the utmost consequence, and which requires both proper organization of administrative forces and a wise and vigorous public sentiment. This is, the financial. Two general statements can be made upon this point practically without fear of contradiction. One is that not nearly enough money is expended in this country for the support of common schools. This was so fully and clearly demonstrated by President Eliot last winter that I do not need to enlarge upon it at all. The other is the fact that of all the money that is raised and appropriated for the support of common schools, the schools and the people receive by no means the full benefit.

The remedy for the former condition of things is to be secured only through an enlightened public sentiment. The people must be edu-

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cated to the needs of education, and must insist that their servants appropriate the necessary funds. Doubtless, it would be much easier to educate people up to this point if they could be satisfied that the money appropriated would be all wisely and honestly spent for education. But, leaving that aside, in very many communities the citizens are strangely niggardly with regard to the expense of educating their own children. This is the more surprising when we consider that the amount of money paid in taxes for school purposes by a citizen of considerable wealth is very much less per annum than the amount that would be required to pay for similar schooling in any private school of repute. But these and other facts must be placed and kept before the people continually, that they may be educated up to a willingness to be taxed for the support of education. There is no city in the country that does not suffer from insufficient funds to furnish the proper means of education. There are, for example, very few cities in which the teachers' salaries are not ridiculously low. These matters will be righted only when the people both see the needs and see that they are met.

The proper organization for the right use of money is another question. I have pointed out some of the defects of our common method of administering schools by committees. The great wastefulness of it and its general inefficiency certainly should appeal to business men. But there is another point in this connection which should be mentioned. School finances should be kept separate from general municipal finances. The amount to be raised should either be statutory or should be determined by somebody who is certain to be intelligently interested in education. It is possibly best to have a statutory limit, and, within that limit, to allow the board of education to legislate as to the amount of money that must be raised for schools. This, of course, involves the right kind of school board and proper organization. It takes it for granted. Such a plan would fix responsibility. The board of education should have the responsibility both for raising and for spending the money needed for schools, so that the people could hold them responsible for a lack of means and facilities, on the one hand, and for extravagance, on the other. Because of the necessary limits of this article, I have merely stated this last point without discussion.

C. B. GILBERT.

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BRITISH AND FRENCH SUBMARINES.

In the navies of two nations the submarine has passed the experimental stage and has taken its place in the fleets as an instrument of warfare of a value which has been more or less definitely assessed, and which, in the course of ordinary peace service and manœuvres, will be yet more accurately fixed. As might be expected in view of their situation, separated by only twenty miles, the two countries which have adopted the submarine are France and Great Britain. In the case of the latter country this new type of engine of war plays, and will play for several, it may be many, years a secondary rôle; but in the plans of M. Pelletan, the French Minister of Marine, it has a foremost, indeed commanding, position. Other leading nations, with one exception only (Japan), are testing various types of this unwelcome agent of war; while in the United States, though several kinds have been tried, it cannot be said that any decision has yet been come to as to the place of the submarine boat in the fleet, since Congress has refused to authorize the construction of any more boats until practical working experience has been obtained of the boats now being operated. American naval opinion is still divided, and consequently Congress has stayed its hand, well content, since it is not in the presence of the menace handled by any adjacent power, to await the results of more extensive trials with the typical boats which have been, or are being, built, and to watch developments abroad.

It may be quite naturally objected that the distinction drawn between the United States and Great Britain in respect to this matter cannot be supported, since the latter country is building from the American designs of the Holland Company. The answer to this is that the contention is not borne out by facts. When, in March, 1901, the Earl of Selborne, First Lord of the Admiralty, announced that submarines were being built, he stated:

> Five submarine vessels of the type invented by Mr. Holland have been ordered, the first of which should be delivered next autumn. What the future value of these boats may be in naval warfare can only be a matter of conjecture. The experiments

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with these boats will assist the Admiralty in assessing their true value. The question of their employment must be studied and all developments in their mechanism carefully watched in this country.

This policy of intelligent watchfulness and skilled experimental research has been consistently followed. As the power claiming supremacy by reason of the superior number of battleships which it is able to place in the line of battle against any probable combination of powers, Great Britain maintained for many years an attitude of complete indifference to this new type — even in face of the activity of the French naval authorities across the "narrow sea," which is the frontier of the two countries — and would do nothing to develop the submarine. As late as March 18, 1901, when the building of five boats had been already put in hand, Mr. Arnold Forster, Parliamentary Secretary to the Admiralty, stated in the House of Commons that he did not desire that these inventions should prosper. Events, however, have proved too strong for the Admiralty. The submarine has prospered, and possibilities have been opened up by the British experiments which no British subject who has given thought to the subject can fail to deplore, and which must yet be recognized in a practical manner. The submarine has come; but the boat which has arrived is not the original Holland type of boat with which experiments were inaugurated.

The first of the British boats, a genuine Holland, was launched on November 2, 1901, and almost immediately sea-tests were begun under the direction of one of the most intrepid and highly trained scientific officers of the British navy, Captain R. H. S. Bacon, who won the Distinguished Service Order in the expedition to Benin, "the city of blood," in 1897, under the orders of Vice-Admiral Sir Harry Rawson. He was the intelligence officer in this small campaign, one of the cheapest and most successful in the recent history of the British Empire.

Descriptions of several submarine types have been published from time to time, but it is germane to the present article to insert here a short and exact account of this parent boat of the British flotilla:

Dimensions. Length over all, 63 feet 4 inches; beam, 11 feet 9 inches, with a displacement, when submerged, of 120 tons.

Armament. One torpedo expulsion tube is placed at the extreme forward end of the boat, and four of the 18-inch Whitehead torpedoes are carried, the gear being arranged so that the torpedo may be discharged with the boat stationary or running at any speed, and when the vessel is awash or submerged.

Construction. The scantlings of the hull have been designed to

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withstand the pressures consequent on submergence at a depth of a hundred feet from the surface, the double-bottom tanks being utilized for ballast and storing purposes. Ingress and egress are through a conning-tower of armored steel four inches thick and thirty-two inches in external diameter, fitted with observation ports.

Propulsion. The propulsion of the vessel awash is by a gasoline engine with four single-acting cylinders, water-jacketed, actuating pistons of the trunk type, with long surfaces, the connecting rods being attached direct to the pistons. The inlet and exhaust valves are of the poppet type, and are in the cylinder heads, the levers by which they are operated being actuated by hand, mounted by sleeves keyed to the cam shaft running alongside and near to the top of the cylinder. The cam shaft makes one revolution for every two of the main crank shaft, and the motion is transmitted by two pairs of skew gears through a vertical shaft. The electric ignitors are actuated by eccentrics, also from the cam shaft. The movable and fixed electrodes are fitted with platinum points. There being four cylinders, it follows that there is an impulse for each revolution, and the speed may be varied from 200 to 260 revolutions per minute, giving a maximum power of 190 B.H.P. The boat has one propeller with blades, and the speed awash is eight knots. Fuel is carried for a radius of 400 miles at this speed. Propulsion when submerged is by an electric motor, which, like the gasoline engine, drives the shaft from the propeller through gearing with clutch connection. This gearing enables both gasoline engine and motor to be at a lower level than the shaft, which is on the centre line of the boat.

Method of Submersion. For diving, the boats are fitted with horizontal as well as vertical rudder, while at the same time a simple system of automatically arranging the disposition of water ballast is fitted to overcome any lack of horizontal stability consequent upon the diving action. Automatic means are also provided for determining the angle of diving or of rising to the surface, and to obviate the submergence to excessive depths. At the same time hand gear for most purposes is fitted.

Such is the first boat of the submersible type — for the British vessels, since they go beneath the water only when approaching an enemy, are not genuine submarines, but rather torpedo boats capable of navigation beneath the water. It was the only one built absolutely to the original Holland designs, for the second of the five of the first order was not so far advanced as to preclude certain variations which trials with the first boat had shown to be desirable. The second boat was launched on February 21, 1902; and the third and fourth, also varying — as

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did the fifth, floated on June 10,1902 — from the original Holland model, were launched in May of the same year. By this time curiosity has been aroused as to the success of these new ships; and Mr. Arnold Forster, in the House of Commons on May 29, when four of the boats were manœuvring under the orders of Captain Bacon in the Irish sea, stated that "the submarines had been a pronounced success, performing all that could be expected from them in the way of evolution and manœuvring." In fact, in the 1902 estimates provision was made for laying down four more vessels. The permanence of this addition to the types of ships of the British Empire was already assured by the knowledge of their powers which Captain Bacon had acquired, and which was turned to good account in the variations of the designs of the new boats, thus further differentiating them from the first of their class.

It may be quite naturally asked in what respect these four newer submarines differ from the Holland design, and the answer must be in general terms. They are of larger displacement, with a length of 100 feet, and have greater radius of action and increased speed, travelling at fifteen knots on the surface. Probably not even the cleverest attaché of one of the foreign powers, with the best sources of secret information, could tell much more than this, for the simple reason that in the process of construction, and afterward when taken into the service, these boats have been guarded with a success probably without parallel in the history of the British fleet. From the first, their construction at the Barrow yard of Messrs. Vickers, Sons & Maxim, the firm which acquired the rights in the Holland patents in the whole of Europe, has been carried on in a shed to which none but the workmen actually engaged upon them, all sworn to secrecy, were admitted without a special pass.

In the spring of the present year, so satisfactory had been the trials at Barrow and at Portsmouth with the group of submarines already launched, that the Admiralty decided to give an order for ten more, bringing up the number built and building at the present moment to nineteen. Nine of these newest boats will follow generally on the lines of the four built last year, but one will be of a quite distinct type for experimental purposes. As to this last vessel, all that can be said — and the statement will set at rest possible misconception — is that it will not be of the Goubet class. This type was pressed on the attention of the British Government during 1902 by the French inventor, shortly before his death, when, in disgust at the indifference of his own Government to his invention, he shook the dust of his country off his feet and crossed the Channel to see if strangers would regard his toy, for it was little

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more, with greater favor. The Goubet submarine is the smallest, or one of the smallest, of all the submarines now being built or experimented with by the naval authorities of the world. The first Goubet, built in France in 1888, was sixteen feet long and displaced only one ton, the idea being that larger vessels, battleships, and cruisers, would be able to carry a craft weighing so little and drop it as occasion for its use arose. It needed a crew of but two men, sitting rigid, back to back, while its armament consisted of a single small torpedo carried outside the boat and released by mechanism operated from the interior. For a time this type, by its very cheapness and the high hopes entertained by its inventor, captivated the French naval authorities, and a larger specimen, twenty-six feet long, was built and tried; but the success achieved did not bear out M. Goubet's anticipations, and it was abandoned.

For the present, at least, such a vessel — its weight when submerged equalling the amount of water displaced — is dead, and whatever the new experimental boat of the British Government may be, the assurance may be accepted that it will not be of the Goubet class. Seemingly the day is not yet for the light torpedo boat of any type which can be carried on board larger ships; and the future seems to lie with the vessel which is more or less independent, and can roam the seas at will.

At present it is admitted that the speed of all submarines is far less than is desirable if they are to have the future that is anticipated by their champions. They are not within sight of finality in development; they are still young. The automatous torpedo, when it was introduced, had a small range and was uncertain in its action. To-day, though there may be differences of opinion as to its probable effect in a naval action, its detractors have become silent, and it is utilized in all the world's fleets as a weapon rivalling the gun in possibilities. So with the submarine. It has been only recently admitted to association with its older rivals, and its development lies ahead.

In the British and French navies the submarine has passed its purely experimental stage. It has been definitely adopted, and in the calculations of fighting strength in the near future it will be impossible to leave it out of account. In fact, it is already an item to be reckoned with. Great Britain has only nineteen ships building or built; but on the other side of the Channel, where they have been devoting attention to the subject for fifteen years past, a large flotilla already exists, and many additional boats are under construction. Fifteen vessels have been completed for sea and are in the service; and they are a menace, moral or material, to France's nearest neighbor. No step is being

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neglected which is calculated to throw light on the utility of these boats, their capacity, their influence on the construction of larger ships, and their bearing on naval policy generally and the tactical and strategical problems of war afloat.

It is unnecessary to recapitulate the achievements of several of the French boats, as they have been publicly reported from time to time. They not only indicate that these little vessels have a practical value, but that the requisite nerve for their employment is possessed in a high degree by the French officers who have been placed in charge of them. Interesting tests were also made in February last by two submarines, or, more accurately, submersibles. It was arranged that they should make an attack on two French liners in the vicinity of the port, the "Espadon" looking out for the "Bretagne" on its way from Havre to New York, and the "Silure" tackling the "Champagne" on her voyage from the United States. The former managed to come within two hundred yards of the "Bretagne" without being observed by the men on board who were directed to keep a sharp lookout; and the "Silure" put in an appearance, also unobserved, until her officer hailed the lookout men on coming to the surface, right between the two liners when they were within signalling distance of each other, and the presumption is that she could have attacked both without being seen.

Whatever may be said against the submarines, the French people accept the evidence of the repeated trials as a complete vindication of the large expenditure which has been already sanctioned on the submarines, fifty-eight in all, which are built, building, or projected. In the activity of the British Admiralty may be seen further evidence that, in the opinion of the English authorities, the submarine has come, and that it behooves them to hasten to catch up with their near rivals. The unfortunate fact in the situation from the British point of view is that British supremacy is based on a superiority of large ships, battleships and cruisers, which these small craft are intended to attack, and science has not yet evolved any effective defence against the most insidious weapon ever fashioned by the hand of man. The British authorities are concentrating their efforts on the development of the submersible torpedo boat. They believe that the large type now building is a powerful addition to the offensive weapons of the fleet, able to cruise alone in the open sea or to accompany a fighting force. On both sides of the English Channel these menacing craft are already being marshalled in large numbers, and it can no longer be denied that the submarine has come to stay.

ARCHIBALD S. HURD.

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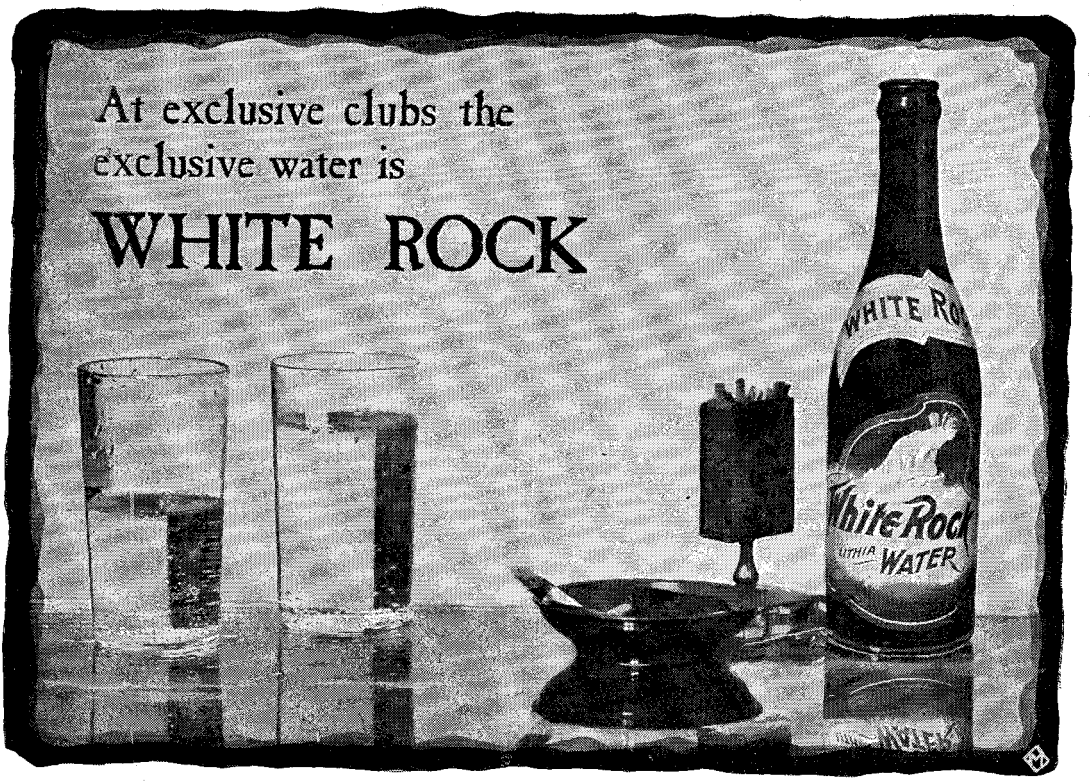

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